



*John. J. Hales*  
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# AMERICA,

HISTORICAL, STATISTIC, AND DESCRIPTIVE.

BY

J. S. BUCKINGHAM, ESQ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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# AMERICA,

HISTORICAL—STATISTICAL—AND DESCRIPTIVE.

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## CHAP. I.

Origin of the settlement of Pennsylvania—Parentage and education of William Penn—Origin of the name of Pennsylvania—Arrival of the first emigrants in the Delaware—Publication of Penn's first "frame of government"—Treaty with the Indians for their lands—First design for the city of Philadelphia—Penn's return to England—Affectionate farewell to his settlement—First institution for the education of youth—Penn deprived of his government by royal warrant—Friendship of John Locke and Lord Somers—Restoration of Penn to his proprietary government—Illness and death of Penn—Cessation of the Quaker authority in Pennsylvania—Declaration of American Independence in Philadelphia—Progress of Pennsylvania in wealth and population—Description of the State, in its scenery and resources—Towns, manufactures, and public improvements.

Of all the cities in the American Union, there is not one, probably, that bears so visibly upon its surface the impress of its founder, as that of Philadelphia. The symmetry of its plan, the neatness of its buildings, the air of repose and contentment, and its multiplied institutions of benevolence, are all as prominent features of its Quaker origin, and striking proofs of Quaker influence, as the names of Pennsylvania for the State, and Philadelphia for the city, are indicative of the benign spirit in which these appellations

were conceived. It is desirable, therefore, to trace the leading incidents of the history of this settlement so far as these may illustrate the origin, progress, and present condition of this portion of the Union, one of the most interesting of the States.

It was in the year 1680 that a charter for the settlement of Pennsylvania and Delaware was first granted by Charles the Second to William Penn; so that from this period its history may be most properly dated. The circumstances which preceded and led to this grant are sufficiently curious, however, to deserve mention. The father of William Penn was an admiral in the British navy, under the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell; and in 1664, he made the conquest of Jamaica, and first added that valuable island to the British colonial possessions. He was subsequently unfortunate in an expedition against St. Domingo, for his failure in which he was imprisoned by Cromwell in the Tower of London, and never after employed under the Commonwealth. At the restoration of the Stuarts, he rose again into favour, and commanded at sea in the Dutch war of 1665 with the Duke of York; but in 1668 he was impeached by the House of Commons for embezzlement of prize-money, though the impeachment was never prosecuted to an issue.

At this time his son, William Penn, was a student at the University of Oxford, and was expected, from his father's known interest at court, to have made a figure in the world in some public walk of life. But at the age of sixteen he became so impressed with the discourses of a Quaker preacher, whom he heard at Oxford, that the warmth and openness with which

he espoused the doctrines of this sect, led to his expulsion from the University. His father, in the true style of an admiral of those days, endeavoured to cure him of his "new-fangled notions," as they were then called, by first giving him a severe flogging, with blows, and then banishing him from his house and presence. This had the natural effect of attaching him the more strongly to the principles for which he was so bitterly persecuted.

The admiral then resorted to another and more insidious method of curing this early "eccentricity," as he considered it, which was, to send him on a course of travels throughout Europe, with some of the gayest young men of rank and family in France; the result of which was, that he returned to his approving parent with a complete change of manners and sentiments, as "a man of the world." Soon after, however, he had occasion to visit Ireland, in the year 1666, to inspect an estate; and meeting there with the same Quaker preacher, whose discourses had made so powerful an impression on him at Oxford, all his former veneration for the principles of Quakerism was revived, and he made an open, public, and solemn profession of his determination to embrace them, and act upon them through life.

According to the testimony of different writers, the conduct of Penn seems, after this, to have exhibited a mixture of good and evil, which is very remarkable—at one time upholding, with all his ability and influence, the despotic prerogative of the crown—at another appealing to the House of Commons for a repeal of the penal laws against dissenters, attaching himself to Algernon Sydney, and



assisting his election for Guildford, as the friend of the people, against a court candidate who opposed him ;—soon after this, seeing his friend Sydney perish on the scaffold for his patriotism, and yet keeping up, during all this time, his cordial intimacy with the despotic sovereign and court by whom this outrage was perpetrated ;—being present at the execution of a most pious and benevolent, as well as aged lady, Mrs. Grant, who was burnt alive, because she gave shelter to a person who had escaped from the rebel army of the Duke of Monmouth, but of whom she knew nothing except that he was a person in distress ;—and being present also at the execution of Alderman Cornish, who was hung at his own door, on an imputation of treason which was never proved, and in which no one but his accusers believed. This was under James the Second, with whom, in the very height of his tyranny, Penn maintained a confidential intimacy and apparent friendship, which it is as difficult to understand, as it has been found impossible to explain.

In 1680, when Charles the Second was on the throne—and when Penn, from his share in the direction of the affairs of New Jersey, with other members of the Society of Friends with whom he was associated, had become well acquainted with the value of the territory west of the Delaware river,—he presented a petition to Charles, setting forth his relationship to the deceased admiral, and stating that a debt was due to his father from the crown, which had not been paid, in consequence of the shutting up of the exchequer by the Earl of Shaftesbury. For this debt he expressed his willingness to receive a grant of the territories west of the Delaware, and north of Mary-

land, which was then already in the possession of Lord Baltimore; and the grounds on which he justified his application were, a belief that by his interest with the Quakers he should be enabled to colonize the territory, and make it productive of a considerable revenue to the British treasury; and that at the same time he should be able to enlarge the British dominions, and promote the glory of God by the conversion of the native Indians to Christianity. This petition was referred to the Duke of York and Lord Baltimore; and their approbation, after certain restrictions, being accorded, and some technical and legal difficulties being removed, the charter was granted to William Penn, in consideration of the merits of the father, and the good purposes of the son; and by it, himself and his heirs were made perpetual proprietors of the extensive, rich, and fertile province, now constituting the State of Pennsylvania.

The origin of the name is thus explained. It was a proposition of King Charles, that the province should be called Penn: or that this name should form part of any appellation that might be fixed on. This was resisted by Penn, lest it should be imputed to him as vanity. He himself proposed to call it New Wales, but this was for some reason disapproved. Penn next suggested Sylvania, as the province was so beautifully diversified with wood; to which the king insisted on prefixing the name of Penn, in honour of the admiral, whose memory he revered.

The conditions on which "the Proprietary," as Penn was now called, held his vast and valuable grant, was the payment of two bear-skins annually, and a

tribute of one-fifth of whatever gold and silver might be discovered in the province, which tribute was to be the personal property of the king. The Proprietary was empowered, by this charter, to divide the province into townships, hundreds and counties; to incorporate boroughs and cities; to make laws, with the assent of the freemen; to impose taxes for public purposes; to levy men, to vanquish enemies, to put them to death by the laws of war, and to do all that belonged to the office of captain-general in an army; on condition that the laws made should be in conformity with the laws of England; that the customs due to the king on articles of trade should be fairly paid; and that the allegiance of the province to the crown and parliament should be maintained.

After the grant of the charter, Penn exerted himself to attract settlers to his new domain. He published accounts of the soil and climate, and offered to those who wished to become residents therein, land at the rate of forty shillings for one hundred acres, with a perpetual quit-rent of a shilling only for each lot of that extent. Persons were admonished, before they bought, to balance present inconvenience with future ease and plenty, to obtain the consent of parents and relations, and have especial regard to the will of God. They were assured that no planter would be permitted to injure the native Indians, not even under pretence of avenging injuries received; but that all differences between the two races should be referred to twelve arbitrators, half selected from each race, and their decision be made binding. He was wisely aware, however, that no individual will may be safely trusted; and accordingly, in

one of his letters of this period, 1681, he says, "As my understanding and inclinations have been much directed to observe and reprove mischiefs in government, so it is now put into my power to settle one. For the matters of liberty and privilege, I purpose that which is extraordinary, and leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country."

The first settlers sailed from London and Bristol in three ships. They were headed by Col. Markham, a relative of Penn, as deputy-governor of the province; and certain of their number were appointed to confer with the Indians, to purchase the lands on equitable terms, and to make with them a treaty of peace. By their hands, Penn himself addressed a letter to the Indians, in which he stated, that though the King of England had given him the proprietary right over this territory, he wished to purchase it, and enjoy it with the consent of the Indians themselves; for though many of their nation had hitherto been cruelly treated by Europeans, those he now sent among them wished to treat them with justice, and reside near them in peace.

On their arrival in America, the settlers took possession of a forest on the west side of the Delaware, about twelve miles above Newcastle, a settled town of Maryland, and there began to prepare for the reception of the followers by whom they were to be joined.

In 1682, Penn first published his celebrated code, entitled "The Frame of the Government of Pennsylvania," a composition which, like the character

of its writer, contained a remarkable mixture of veneration for the despotic maxim of the "divine right of government," and clear perceptions of the true principles of just and liberal policy; the latter, however, far predominating. In it he says, "Any government is free to the people under it, where the laws rule, and where the people are a party to these laws; and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion." He insists upon the importance of having good men, as the only faithful administrators of good laws: and to supply these, he urges the importance of the virtuous education of youth; and he concludes with these remarkable words: "We have, with reverence to God, and good conscience to men, to the best of our skill, contrived and composed the frame of this government, to the great end of all rule—to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery."

The machine of government was to consist of the proprietary, or his deputy, and the freemen; and the latter were to be divided into two bodies, a provincial council, and a general assembly. The council was to consist of seventy-two members, and to be elected by the freemen; twenty-four of the members to retire annually, and their places to be supplied by a new election. The assembly was to consist, in the first year, of all the freemen among the settlers: in the second year, of two hundred representatives chosen by the rest: and after this to be augmented as the popu-

lation increased. They were to be elected annually, and the mode of voting, for both houses, was to be by ballot: but owing to the opposition of some English freeholders, who protested against this un-English mode of going to the poll "muzzled"—though the same mode of voting by ballot was introduced by the Puritans into New England, and still existed there and in New Jersey—Penn was overruled by these objectors, and changed it to the mode of open voting.

Some very singular regulations, forming a sort of supplemental code, were issued soon after the first publication of the "Frame of Government," of which the following are examples. All prisons were to be made workhouses, that criminals confined in them might labour for their subsistence. A thief was to restore twice the value of the property he had stolen; and if unable to do this from other sources, should work as a bondsman in prison, to accumulate the amount. The landed, as well as personal estate of debtors, was to be answerable for their debts, except where lawful children might be defrauded by this; in which case, two-thirds were to be reserved for their use. All factors who should defraud foreign correspondents or dealers, were to pay complete restitution of the whole sum due, and a surplus of one-third more, as compensation for the wrong done. No person could leave the province, without publishing his intention three weeks before, in the market-place. No dramatic entertainments, games of chance, or sports of cruelty, were to be permitted; and whatever contributed to promote ferocity of disposition, idleness, licentiousness, or

irreligion, was to be punished and discouraged. And all children of the age of twelve years were to be taught some useful art or trade, so that none might be idle; so that while the poor should work to live—the rich, if they became poor, might not want.

In the same year, 1682, but towards its close, William Penn himself embarked for his new territory, and left England, with about a hundred Quakers, who had determined to follow his fortunes in the western world. On their arrival on the banks of the Delaware, they found everything in a most promising condition. In addition to the English settlers brought out by Colonel Markham, there were 3,000 Swedish and Dutch, who had planted themselves in the adjoining territory of Delaware, which was now united to Pennsylvania; and in addition to those who came out with Penn himself, there was an augmentation of their numbers in the same year, but subsequent to the arrival of Penn, of no less than 2,000 persons, mostly Quakers, and almost all men of education, substance, and strong attachment to civil and religious freedom. To these again were added Quakers from Germany and Holland in almost equal numbers; so that the Proprietary soon saw himself surrounded by a numerous, intelligent, moral, and religious community.

With such materials as these, had Penn the happiness and advantage to begin the work of legislation; and accordingly he summoned, in December of the year 1682, his first provincial parliament, at Chester. The confidence reposed in him by all parties was such, that his "Frame of Government" was readily assented to; and an act of settlement passed for its

adoption. Shortly after, one of the most interesting events in Pennsylvanian annals occurred, namely, the negotiation of a treaty with the Indians for the purchase of their lands, which was done by commissioners appointed for that purpose; but the ratification of the treaty by Penn was executed by him in person. The spot selected for this purpose was beneath a great elm-tree, that stood where one of the suburbs of Philadelphia, called Kensington, is now built. Under this tree, the Indians of the possessing tribe assembled, with their chief at their head; and being all warriors, they were fully armed. They were here met by William Penn, at the head of a body of unarmed Quakers like himself; his only distinction from his companions being the use of a blue silk sash, and the holding in his hands the parchment roll on which the previously negotiated treaty had been written out.

After an interchange of congratulations, Penn addressed the Indians, through the medium of an interpreter; and the following was the substance of his address:—He appealed to the Great Spirit, whom both parties acknowledged as the searcher of hearts, for the sincerity of his desire to live at peace with all men. They had come unarmed, because it was not their custom to use weapons of any kind. He desired that whatever was done between them should be for the equal advantage of both races. He read the terms of the purchase agreed to by them for their lands, the amount of which has never been ascertained; but having obtained their assent to the sum as sufficient, it was then paid, and the various articles of merchandise which the Quakers had brought



were then tendered to the Indians as presents or gifts, over and above the purchase-money, which they also accepted. They were further offered the common use of the land for their own purposes, as long as they might need it; they were assured that they should be considered as of the same flesh and blood with the white race; and the parchment-roll being presented to the Indians, to be by them preserved for their posterity, they signified their cordial assent to all the conditions it contained, and declared their determination to live with William Penn and his descendants, in peace and friendship, as long as the sun and moon should endure.

Such was the touching and solemn scene of equity and good faith, by which the ratification of this treaty was completed; and the subsequent faithful adherence to its conditions by the Quakers, gave them a degree of sanctity in the estimation of the Indians, that has never been enjoyed by any other Europeans. It is said that no instance has ever occurred in which a person known to be a Quaker has received a personal insult or injury from a native Indian; and when these last were at war with every other class of European settlers, they invariably exempted the Quakers from their hostility; for to those who neither used, nor even wore weapons of any kind, it was deemed by them a sort of cowardice and sacrilege combined, to lift the club or the tomahawk of war.

In 1683 more vessels began to arrive with new settlers, most of them Quakers and other Dissenters, who withdrew from England to avoid the religious persecutions of the day; and the high character of

these classes continued to sustain the moral excellence of the general community. A second session of the legislative assembly was called, in which various modifications of the original constitution were proposed and adopted; the council was reduced to eighteen members, and the assembly to thirty-six, and the session closed to the complete satisfaction of all parties.

It was at this period that Penn first selected the site and designed the plan of the present city of Philadelphia. The position was most happily chosen, between the two rivers of Delaware on the west, and Schuylkill on the east, the distance from stream to stream being about two English miles. The length of space for the city was indefinite; but the first outline made it nearly a square of two miles on each side. The plan devised by Penn was one of the greatest regularity, the streets being made to run from river to river, in straight lines of east and west, to be crossed by others at right angles, running exactly north and south, with a large square for the centre, and several other open spaces for squares and gardens in different parts of the town.

It is remarkable that the celebrated Dr. Prideaux, in his well-known work "The Connexion of the Old and New Testament," gives a plan of ancient Babylon, and says of it, "Much according to this model hath William Penn, the Quaker, laid the ground for his city of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania; and were it all built according to that design, it would be the fairest and best city in all America, and not much behind any other in the whole world." The learned Dean was right in his estimate; for it is now nearly

so completed, and already it may be called the most beautiful city in America; and not inferior, except in size, to any in the Old world; but this belongs to the topography rather than the history of the city, and will be spoken of in its proper place.

In 1684, when the organization of the new settlement had been completed, and when happiness and contentment seemed to be the lot of all belonging to it, Penn returned to England, for the double purpose of promoting certain claims respecting the territory under Lord Baltimore, and aiding his Quaker brethren at home in their struggles against the measures pursued towards dissenters by the Established Church. Previous to his embarkation, he appointed Thomas Lloyd, a Quaker, to be his deputy-governor, and Col. Markham, his relative, to be his secretary, and nominated four planters to act as provincial judges; and in a parting address to his friends and followers, he thus speaks of the city he had founded—"And thou, Philadelphia! the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail has there been to bring thee forth, and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee! My love to thee has been great, and the remembrance of thee affects mine heart and mine eyes! The God of eternal strength keep and preserve thee to his glory, and thy peace!" At this period the city contained about 300 houses, and the population of the whole province was estimated at about 6,000 persons.

In 1687 another occasion arose, in which the pacific principles of the Quakers were put to a severe test, and in which they triumphed as effectually

as before. A rumour had got abroad of an intended conspiracy among the Indians, for the purpose of massacring the whole of the white population of Pennsylvania. On this occasion, Caleb Pusey, a Quaker, placed himself at the head of a small but intrepid band of five other Quakers, named by the council, and repaired with them, unarmed, to the presence of the Indian-chief and his warriors. It was subsequently ascertained, that no such conspiracy had been formed; but the conduct of the deputation was not the less a proof of their moral courage and firmness; and the business terminated happily between all parties.

In 1689, the first institution for the education of youth was established in Pennsylvania, under the title of "The Friends' Public School of Philadelphia," at the head of which was placed a celebrated Quaker teacher, named George Keith, who, afterwards became a prominent character in the annals of the State. This person was a native of Aberdeen, in Scotland, of a strong controversial disposition, which was variously directed, to important and unimportant topics. Among the former, however, he was one of the earliest to protest against the unchristian character of Negro slavery, which he was more warmly supported by the German emigrants of the colony, than by the English. He afterwards abjured Quakerism, embraced the tenets of the Church of England, and was subsequently sent out as a missionary to the Indians, by the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and was said to be very successful in making converts to his newly adopted faith.

In 1693 a material change took place in the exercise of the ruling power over Pennsylvania.—The revolution of 1688, having led to the banishment of James the Second, the patron of Penn, and the settlement of William the Third on the British throne; a colourable pretence was set up, of Penn's being attached to the fallen fortunes of the exiled monarch, and of the laws having been administered in Pennsylvania in the name of the deposed sovereign after the government of William and Mary was acknowledged in other colonial dependencies of the crown—in consequence of which a royal warrant was issued, depriving Penn of his authority in America, and placing all power over Pennsylvania, as well as New York, in the hands of Colonel Fletcher, as the governor for the king.

Penn now retired into private life, but during this retirement, he had the good fortune to be befriended by the celebrated philosopher, John Locke, who had himself been an exile in Holland under James the Second, and for whom Penn had interceded with that sovereign, so that this reciprocation of services was honourable to both parties. By the influence of Locke, Lord Somers, and other friends of Penn, the royal warrant that deprived him of his proprietary was revoked, and he was again re-instated in his rights and authority over his province, after a suspension of about a year; this occurred in 1694, when he invested Colonel Markham, as before, with full authority as his deputy-governor over Pennsylvania and Delaware.

The increase of the population by emigration and

other causes, had been going on gradually during all this time, so that in 1695 there were about 20,000 inhabitants, exclusive of negro slaves, in the province. The character of the emigrants began, however, to be somewhat different from that of the original settlers; and there were more men attracted to the country by the hope of gain, than seeking, as formerly, an asylum from religious persecution. The wages of labour were extremely high, and persons arriving, in comparative indigence, were in a short time made affluent in their circumstances.

In 1696, a third "Frame of Government" was formed, by which the council were reduced from 18 to 12 members, and the assembly from 36 to 24. The number of counties into which the province was divided was now six, and each county sent two members to the council, and four to the assembly.

In 1699, the benevolent Penn embarked a second time to visit his possessions in the west; and on this occasion he was accompanied by his family, as he professed it to be his intention to spend the remainder of his days in Pennsylvania. His reception was cordial and affectionate; and one of the first measures to which his attention was directed, was for improving the condition of negro slaves, and correcting the evils that had arisen out of the traffic between the white settlers and the native Indians; though in both he was opposed by the council and assembly, to his great mortification.

In 1701, after five years' residence in Pennsylvania, embittered by many dissensions and disputes, Penn prepared again to re-embark for England. Previous to this, however, a fourth and last "Frame

of Government" was established by him, containing many amendments on the former ones ; liberty of conscience was declared to be the inviolable right of all the colonists ; and Christians, of every denomination, were pronounced to be equally eligible to all offices of government. It was just before his departure, also, that he conferred the first charter of incorporation on his favourite city of Philadelphia.

Penn did not long survive this event ; for in the following year, 1701, various mortifications and disappointments, some of a political, and some of a pecuniary nature, threw him into great embarrassment. He was obliged first to mortgage, and ultimately to offer to sell to the British government, the whole of his proprietary rights, for the comparatively insignificant sum of £12,000 sterling ; but this was not completed, by reason of his illness and death, which occurred in his sixty-sixth year ; after which, the proprietary right was continued in his descendants, and so remained until near the period of the American revolution.

It was in 1775 that the dissensions first began between the Quakers, who still maintained a majority in the provincial assembly, and the governor of the province, respecting matters of taxation, and military appropriations ; and this ended in the gradual withdrawal of the Quakers from the legislative body, as well as from all offices of political authority, and the devotion of their time and labours to philanthropic and benevolent objects. The question of negro-slavery particularly engaged their attention, for though many efforts had been made to abolish this degrading servitude, it still existed in full vigour here. As

early as 1688, the Quakers made a public declaration of their Society as to the unlawfulness of slavery.

In 1718 a work was published against slavery by an inhabitant of Long Island, named Burling, a Quaker. In 1729, a merchant of Philadelphia, named Sandiford, published another work on the same topic, called, "The Mystery of Iniquity;" and three other Quakers, Benjamin Lay of Pennsylvania, John Woolman of New Jersey, and Anthony Benezet, a Frenchman who had emigrated to Pennsylvania, followed up these efforts, by writings from their respective pens. This latter philanthropist, devoting himself to the business of education, so implanted in the minds of all his pupils a horror and abhorrence of slavery, that he may be said to have raised up a new generation of abolitionists, and thus to have contributed powerfully to promote the cessation of the evil, as most of those educated by him refused to hold slaves under any conditions, and gave freedom to those who came to them as slaves by inheritance. This spirit went on increasing till it arrived at its crisis in 1774, when the Quakers of Pennsylvania, as a body, emancipated all their slaves, and excluded from membership all those of their sect who declined to make this sacrifice of profit to principle, of which they were the first to set an example.

In 1776, Philadelphia became the scene of the memorable Declaration of American Independence, which was drawn up by Thomas Jefferson, and, after careful examination and revision by the committee to which the draft was submitted, received its solemn sanction by the signatures of the enlightened and virtuous Founders of American Freedom, in the City



Hall of Philadelphia, which still exists, about ninety years after its first foundation. The city was at that time very inconsiderable in extent or population, but it was even then characterized, as it had always been, by general intelligence, a high tone of morals, and a large share of public and private virtue.

At this period the population of Philadelphia was 5,460; but, like all the other cities of the American Union, it started from this point on a new career of prosperity, and went on, under the benign influence of its newly acquired freedom, increasing so rapidly in wealth and population, that it now contains upwards of 200,000 inhabitants, and may, in every respect, be called one of the most agreeable and beautiful cities in the world.

As the progress of the State of Pennsylvania—of which Philadelphia is the metropolis, though not the legislative capital—is closely associated with that of the city, it may be well to glance for a moment at the general topography and resources of this valuable State, and to trace their progressive development, from the wild woods of the aboriginal occupants, up to the present time.

Pennsylvania is about 307 miles in length, from east to west; and 190 miles in breadth, from north to south; and the lines of its boundaries are so straight and well defined, as to give it the form of an oblong square. It lies between the latitude of 39° and 42° N. and between the longitude of 74° and 81° W., and contains an area of 47,000 square miles, or 29,935,200 acres. It is said that no region has yet been discovered, throughout the whole extent of this great continent, more beautifully diversified in surface than

Pennsylvania, or one in which a greater variety of mineral and botanical wealth have been concentrated into a smaller space. No portion of the whole State is level to any great extent ; the extreme difference of level, however, not exceeding 1,200 feet. The whole population of the State in 1830 was 1,048,458 ; and their proportions in the different sections of the country may be seen by this—that in the eastern divisions, near the cities and the sea, the numbers were 77 to the square mile ; in the western division, bordering on Virginia and Ohio, they were 17 to the square mile ; and in the central or mountainous parts, they were only 10 to the square mile.

The forests of the interior of Pennsylvania are described as magnificent, and the trees as large and as varied in their kind as on any zone of the globe of the same extent. The valleys are remarkably fertile ; and grain, vegetables, and fruits of almost every kind, are grown in abundance and perfection. Of mineral wealth there is also a large supply ; iron and coal, both anthracite and bituminous, abound, and mark out Pennsylvania as destined by nature to be a large manufacturing as well as agricultural State. Salt works exist also in several parts of the country ; and fine marble, of the most beautiful colour and texture, is found so abundantly in every direction, that the principal public buildings, and several private edifices in Philadelphia, are constructed wholly of that material ; while in some parts of the country, even the farm-houses are built of this beautiful stone. Public attention is sufficiently awakened to the importance of all this wealth, and especially of the iron and coal, the beds of which appear, from recent investigation,

to be inexhaustible ; there is, therefore, the strongest possible inducement for capitalists to turn their attention to the working of mines of both, and establishing manufactures on the spot ; more especially as the State is already intersected with rivers, canals, and rail-roads, that make the transport of materials and goods, from every part of the interior to the sea, a work of expedition and economy combined.

Already, indeed, may Pennsylvania be considered a manufacturing State. In 1836 there were seventy-two cotton manufactories, in which were embarked a capital of more than 4,000,000 of dollars, or nearly a million sterling ; and they made, annually, about twenty-five millions of yards of cloth. Of iron works there were at the same time about seventy blast and air-furnaces, nearly one hundred forges, thirty rolling mills, and two hundred manufactories of nails ; nearly one hundred paper-mills, twenty glass-houses, and about fifty rope-walks. The various manufactories embraced upwards of two hundred and fifty articles, and their estimated value exceeded seventy millions of dollars, or 14,000,000*l.* sterling.

The legislative capital of Pennsylvania is at Harrisburgh, a town of about 5000 inhabitants, at a distance of 100 miles from Philadelphia, and the same from Washington : centrality of position in the State, generally determining the locality of the capital, for the convenience of making it equally easy of access to the members of the legislature from all the different counties. The great manufacturing town of Pennsylvania, is, however, Pittsburgh, which is 200 miles west of Philadelphia, in the heart of

the iron and coal district, and which, including the suburbs, (one of which is called Birmingham,) contains a population of 20,000 persons, nearly all of whom are engaged in the manufactories of iron carried on there. The situation of Pittsburgh is such as to give it an easy communication with all the surrounding quarters; it being on a plain, between the rivers Alleghany and Monongahela, at the point of their junction to form the Ohio. By the former of these rivers, and its branches, it communicates with New York. By the latter, and a good road, it communicates with Baltimore; and by the Ohio river it communicates with all the great Western States; while its communication with Philadelphia is by canal and rail-road, as well as by ordinary roads. The estimated annual amount of manufactures in Pittsburgh alone exceeds 20,000,000 of dollars, and the merchandise passing through that city in various directions, within the same space of time, is estimated at double that amount of value at least.

There are many interesting towns and settlements of inferior importance in Pennsylvania, among which may be mentioned Lancaster, about 60 miles west of Philadelphia, in the midst of an agricultural and grazing district: Reading, in the county of Berkshire, a town inhabited chiefly by Germans, and occupied with the manufacture of hats; Bethlehem, a Moravian settlement, Lebanon, Bethany, and other spots of Scriptural nomenclature, some of them inhabited by people who speak only German, and to whom the English language is literally an unknown tongue.

Such is the progressive history, and such the present condition of this large, beautiful, and flourishing State, in which, climate, soil, and production are alike favourable to wealth and enjoyment ; and where the impress of sobriety, order, industry, and improvement, originally stamped on the country by its first settlers, still continues visible, in the character and condition of their descendants ; as in no part of the Union is there to be seen better agriculture, more flourishing farms, more thriving manufactories, more useful public improvements, more benevolent institutions, a more general diffusion of comfort, or a higher tone of morality, than in Pennsylvania: consequences and characteristics, of which its Quaker inhabitants may well be proud, as having sprung undoubtedly from the character and policy of their ancestors who first colonized it.

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## CHAP. II.

Favourable site or position chosen for the city—Original plan of the founder, William Penn—Descriptions of the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers—Arrangement and names of the streets—Style of the private dwellings, exterior and interior—Shops, hotels, and boarding-houses—Public buildings of Philadelphia—Old State House or Independence Hall—The merchants' exchange and post-office—The banks of Philadelphia as works of art—Bank of the United States—Copy of the Parthenon—Girard bank and Philadelphia bank—Corinthian—Mint of the United States—Ionic temple at Illyssus—University of Philadelphia, origin and progress—Anatomical museum, and philosophical apparatus—Girard College, origin and foundation, description of the building by the architect—The water-works at Fair Mount—Markets of Philadelphia, supplies—The Navy-yard—Line-of-battle ship, Pennsylvania—View of the city on approaching it by the river.

THE position chosen for the site of Philadelphia is, like that of all the large maritime cities of America I had yet seen, remarkably beautiful and advantageous. A perfectly level piece of land, lying between the Delaware river, which bounds it on the west, and the Schuylkill river, forming its margin on the east, was the spot fixed on for this purpose by its founder. By this selection, the breadth of the city was necessarily limited to about two miles, that being the distance from stream to stream; but the northern and southern limits were not so bounded by any natural barrier; and in these directions, therefore, the city *might* be made to extend to any length.

The original plan contemplated, however, for the City proper, as distinguished from the suburbs, was an oblong square, of about two miles from river to river east and west, and one mile from boundary to boundary north and south, the streets running perfectly parallel to each other from river to river; and being crossed by others of similar dimensions at right angles, so as to present the most perfect regularity in all its parts. Space was left in this design for several open squares in different quarters of the city, with lawns of grass, gravelled walks, and overshadowing trees; and nothing seemed wanting in the design to unite beauty, salubrity, and convenience.

The original plan has been generally followed out, with strict regard to the will of the founder, with these exceptions only: that there yet remains a portion to be filled up in the western division of the city, near the Schuylkill: and that on the north and south, in the eastern division, along the more frequented banks of the Delaware, the suburbs from Kensington and Spring Gardens on the north, to Southwark and Greenwich on the south, have extended in each direction, so as to make the whole length of the continuous range of houses nearly five miles from north to south, while the breadth does not exceed two from east to west.

The Delaware, which washes Philadelphia on the east, is a noble stream, rising in the State of New York about 300 miles above the point of its junction with the sea, and flowing southward through Pennsylvania, separating it on the west from the State of New Jersey on the east, and flowing into the great bay of the Delaware below Philadelphia, from whence

to the sea it is navigable for ships of 120 guns, and communicates readily with the Atlantic. It is by this river, therefore, that all the maritime commerce of Philadelphia is carried on.

The Schuylkill is a smaller stream, though navigable for schooners, sloops, and steamers of moderate burden; it is beautifully picturesque in many of its windings, where sloping lawns, forest trees, and prettily scattered villas, adorn its banks.

The streets are not only symmetrical in their relative position to each other, but they are generally uniform in their dimensions; the number of the streets is about 600, and their breadth is on the average from 40 to 80 feet. The two largest of the transverse streets, which form a sort of cross, running through the centre of the city—the one from east to west, called High Street or Market Street, and the other, from north to south, called Broad Street—are, the former 100, and the latter 113 feet broad, and they have each a rail-road running through them. The carriage-ways of all the streets is paved with stone, (excepting only a small portion where an experiment is trying, to pave with octagonal blocks of wood,) though not so evenly as in the cities of England. The side-pavements, which are of a well-proportioned height and breadth, are formed of diagonally-placed bricks, and are more agreeable to walk on than the flag pavements of London.

What gives the greatest beauty, however, to the streets of Philadelphia is this, that along the edge of the side-pavements, at intervals of a few feet apart, run beautiful rows of trees, which, when in full



foliage, give a verdure, freshness, coolness, and shade, most agreeable to the eye, and most delicious to the feelings of the passenger. Scarcely any thing can be imagined more beautiful, in streets at least, than the sight of one of these long avenues, reaching from the Delaware to the Schuylkill, a length of two miles, lined with trees throughout the whole way, and the termination of the vista at each extremity reposing on the opposite banks of the respective streams.

In the streets running north and south, the trees flourish best on both sides, as there each has the advantage of the sun for a portion of the day; but in the streets running east and west, the trees flourish best on the north side, from their having the sun during many hours, while those on the south side have only the beams of the rising and setting sun, and that only when he is north of the equator, so that they are here fewer in number, and do not flourish so well.

The arrangement of the names of the streets is such as makes it perfectly easy for a stranger to find his way over every part of the city with ease. The streets running east and west, from river to river, are generally called by proper names, after some tree of the forest. The streets intersecting them, and running north and south, are called numerically, beginning from each river front, and advancing till they meet in the centre. For instance, the first street westward from the Delaware, and running nearly parallel with it, is called Front Street, the next beyond it westward is called Second Street, then Third Street, and so on, till Thirteenth Street, which is near the centre of the city. In the same manner,

the first street eastward from the Schuylkill, and running nearly parallel with it, is called Schuylkill Front, the next Schuylkill Second, then Schuylkill Third, and so on till it meets the Thirteenth Street counting from the Delaware side, and thus fills up the whole breadth of the city.

The numbers of the houses follow in the same order of enumeration, beginning from the river on each side, and going on to the centre of the city, the even numbers being on the south, and the odd numbers on the north side. The custom is, however, to name the positions of certain buildings, shops, or houses, not so much by their numbers, as their relative positions with respect to streets. Thus it would be said, "Mr. A. lives in Walnut, between 9th and 10th"—the word "street" being rarely mentioned—and by this description the stranger knows, within a very few doors, where the residence or building he is in search of may be found; as he has only to enter Walnut street, and walk onward till he gets between 9th and 10th streets, and the locality is found.

The names of the streets, it has been observed, are mostly derived from forest trees, and it is said that each street was called after the particular kind of tree that grew on the spot where the street itself now stands. The sylvan origin of the city is thus strikingly preserved in its nomenclature; and the following, selected from the alphabetical lists of the streets, will show to what extent this has been carried:—Acorn, Alder, Almond, Apple, Ash, Aspen, Beech, Blackberry, Cedar, Cherry, Chesnut, Clover, Currant, Cypress, Elm, Filbert, Grape, Juniper, Laurel,

Lemon, Locust, Magnolia, Maple, Melon, Mulberry, Oak, Olive, Orange, Peach, Pear, Pine, Plum, Poplar, Prune, Quince, Raspberry, Rose, Sassifras, Spruce, Strawberry, Vine, Walnut, and Willow.

The private dwellings are almost uniformly built of red brick, well executed, and the entrance to all the best houses is by a flight of marble steps, generally edged with an iron balustrade, and sometimes terminated by a small and neat portico of grey or white marble columns. The brass-work of the railings and doors is always in a high state of polish; the doors are usually painted white, and often ornamented with carvings or mouldings in panels; the window-glass is invariably beautifully clean, and the aspect of the whole presents a combination of purity, comfort, and repose.

In the interior decorations and furniture of the houses we visited, there was less of ostentatious display than in New York, but more luxurious ease than in Baltimore; and above all, an undisturbed serenity peculiar to this city, and quite in harmony with its Quaker origin. There are of course here, as every where, many houses of inferior size and quality; but there are fewer of these, in proportion to the whole number in Philadelphia, than in any city we had yet visited. On the other hand, there are some few mansions that would be accounted spacious and beautiful, even in London. That of Mr. Newkirk, a wealthy merchant, in Arch Street, built wholly of white marble, with a noble and chaste Ionic portico in front, is in the best taste for its architecture, and as beautiful as it is chaste.

The shops in Philadelphia are much more elegant

than those of New York or Baltimore. Some of those in Chesnut Street, which corresponds to the Broadway of New York, and Regent Street of London—as uniting the fashionable lounge and shopping promenade—are equal to any in Ludgate-hill, and as well stored within as they are attractive from without.

The hotels are neither so large nor so comfortable as those of New York or Baltimore. There is nothing like the Astor House for size, nor the Eutaw for convenience; though the Mansion-House, the Merchants', and the Washington, are all excellent hotels, and superior to any of the older establishments of the same kind in the city.

The boarding-houses are about the same, in character and in quality, as those in the two other cities named. The same inconveniences attach to them in quite as large a degree. The hour of breakfast is half-past seven, and before eight the table is entirely cleared. The dinner is at two: and before half-past two, the greater number have finished and departed. The sleeping-room of the boarders, is their only sitting-room, in which they can be alone by day: as the drawing-room is common to all: and the domestic service is so bad, that nothing is well cooked or well served, even at the regular hours; and if the meals are not taken then, nothing can be had comfortably at any other hours of the day.

Of the public buildings of Philadelphia, the first in historical interest and importance is undoubtedly the Old State House, or Independence Hall, as it is now more generally termed. This is a large and old-fashioned brick structure, having been commenced

in 1729, and finished in 1734, nearly in the middle of the business-part of the city, its northern front being towards Chesnut Street, and its southern front towards a fine open square, well planted with large trees, and called Independence Square, where public political meetings are most frequently held. The State House presents an extensive façade; and from its centre rises a small open tower, from whence the best view of the interior of the city is to be enjoyed. The lower part of the building is occupied by the city courts, and offices connected with the municipal government; and in the upper part is the room in which the first American Congress sat, and in which the original Declaration of Independence by the United States was first ratified and signed by the leaders of the revolution. The room is, from this circumstance, called Independence Hall; and with a people so sensitively alive, as even the most apathetic of the Americans are, to everything connected with this great foundation of their independence and their liberties, it may easily be imagined how warmly they cherish, and how deeply they venerate, everything connected with this, to them, classical and hallowed apartment.

It appears that, some time since, the ruling authorities of the city made some alterations in this room which disturbed its identity: but the spirit of the people, roused by what they considered a desecration of this cherished relic, had the changes speedily removed, and the room restored as nearly as possible to the state in which it was when the Declaration of Independence there received its signatures; in

which condition it is now shown with enthusiasm to all strangers visiting Philadelphia.

It is remarkable that the old bell which occupied the open tower or cupola of this State House, and which was used for the purpose of assembling the people in Colonial times, had cast on it as a motto, the following quotation from the Old Testament, "Proclaim liberty throughout the land, to all the people thereof." The bell still occupies its original position; and having fulfilled the injunction inscribed upon its surface, by announcing to the inhabitants of Philadelphia, the signature of the Declaration of Independence, it is preserved with as much veneration as the Hall itself; and both will, no doubt, be carefully guarded to the latest posterity. Some spirited lines addressed to the Old State House, by an American poet, Andrew M'Makin, are seen here, preceded by the motto from our own poet, Thomas Campbell—

"Thy spirit, Independence, let me share,  
Lord of the lion heart and eagle eye."

and the following stanzas breathe the spirit and feeling that seems to animate every American bosom when visiting this honoured edifice :—

"Cradle of Independence, hail!  
Within thy walls first breath'd the fire  
Which, Heaven-directed, shall prevail,  
'Till Time's own power itself expire.

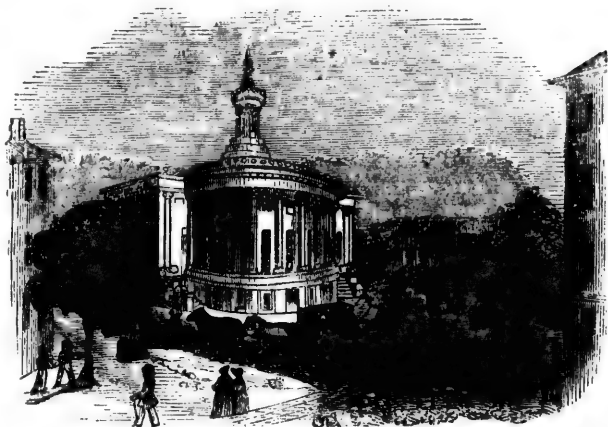
"That band of patriot heroes, *here*  
In conclave pledg'd their life and fame,  
To guard their country's honour dear,  
And kindle glory round her name.

"Brave ancient pile! long may'st thou trace  
The sacred spot first blazon'd FREE!  
And no rude Goth one stone displace,  
Proud Monument of Liberty."

The associations which this venerable pile must always awaken in the breast of the American patriot, can hardly fail to be agreeable; and it stands so entirely in the centre of the bustle of the town, that no one can visit Philadelphia without seeing it, or without being pleased with its many interesting objects. In front of it is a broad brick pavement, forming an excellent promenade, and two rows of trees afford an avenue of delightful verdure and shade for the passengers. The square behind was the favourite place of resort and deliberation for Washington, Hancock, Franklin, and the great men of the revolution; and it, and the almost adjoining space of Washington Square, are still among the most open, well-planted, and agreeable public walks of the city.

The Merchants' Exchange is another of the public buildings, that does great honour to Philadelphia. It occupies the angle at the junction of Walnut and Third Streets, and is said to stand on the exact spot where formerly was a small stream with a beaver's dam, at the edge of an Indian settlement. The structure is a very handsome one, from the design of Mr. Strickland, the city-architect. It is built of white marble from the quarries of Pennsylvania, and the semicircular projecting front which it presents towards Dock Street, with its fine rotunda, colonnade, and tower, gives an air of great architectural beauty to the whole building. In the interior of the rotunda

are some fine designs in alto relievo, by an Italian artist, Monachesi, and the floor is inlaid with mosaic



work. A spacious reading-room, furnished with papers from all parts of the world, is constantly filled with readers; and around, and connected with the building, are the Post-office, insurance companies, and many other public establishments connected with navigation and commerce, so that it is always a very busy and animated scene.

The Banks of Philadelphia may well be numbered among the public edifices; and, taken as a whole, are certainly more beautiful, as works of architecture, than those of any other city I remember, not even excepting London or Paris.

The Bank of the United States, which is in Chestnut Street, immediately opposite to the United States Hotel, is a perfect specimen of the pure Doric temples of the Greeks. It is said, indeed, to be a copy



of the Temple of the Parthenon at Athens ; but this is hardly correct, as it is inferior in size, and wants also the peripteral colonnade which surrounds that edifice, this having only the portico in front.



The whole edifice is, however, in such good proportions, so chastely free from all spurious decoration, so simple and majestic in its ascending flights of steps running the whole length of the front with balustrade or surbasement, and is moreover built of such fine large blocks of pure, and almost Parian marble, that it may be pronounced one of the best specimens of the Doric, in the purest times of Greek architecture, to be seen anywhere out of Greece itself. Its length is 161 feet, and breadth 87. The portico has eight fluted Doric pillars of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet diameter. The interior is Ionic, the banking-room being 81 feet long and 48 wide, and it has lightness, space, simplicity,

and convenience, united in the highest possible degree.

The Girard Bank, in Third Street, is a noble structure, with a richly-decorated front and portico of Corinthian fluted columns, and entablatures of sculptured designs.



The Philadelphia Bank in Chesnut Street, also of the Corinthian order, presents a fine façade of white marble, and an elevated portico. And the United States Mint, in Chesnut Street, farther to the west, is a fine Ionic structure, built by the city-architect, Mr. Strickland, from drawings and measurements of a beautiful Ionic temple of the Greeks, on the banks of the river Illyssus, near Athens. This also is built entirely of the pure white marble which abounds in Pennsylvania, and than which the famed quarries of Paros or Pentelicus could hardly furnish a better.

The public edifices connected with education are numerous, but only a few of them are remarkable for their size or architectural beauty. The public and private schools are commodious, and well adapted to their respective purposes, but offer little attraction in their appearance.

The University of Philadelphia is now the principal public institution of this description. It was originally a charity-school, and afterwards an academy, and as such it was endowed and chartered in 1753. It was erected into a college in 1779, three years after the Declaration of Independence; and in 1789, it received the dignity of a University. Its tuition embraces the four departments of arts, medicine, natural science, and law; it has four professors of arts, five of natural science, one of law, and seven of medicine. In the latter branch alone, upwards of 500 students receive instruction every year, and about an equal number in all the other departments collectively. There is a fine anatomical museum belonging to the University, and its philosophical and chemical apparatus are equal to that of any similar institution in Europe. I had the pleasure to see them all, under the direction of Dr. Hares, the celebrated inventor of the improved blow-pipe, who is professor of chemistry in the institution. The buildings of the University, of which there are two, are situated in North Street. They are five substantial mansions, without much decoration, but in good taste; and being surrounded with ample space, and a fine grass-plot in front, between each other, they present a good appearance to the view.

The Girard College, now in the course of erection in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, will be one of the finest edifices of modern times, as a work of art alone; and a monument of private munificence to the cause of education, such as few countries in the world possess. The large sum of two millions of dollars was given at his death, by Mr. Stephen Girard, the rich banker of Philadelphia, recently deceased, to build this college, for the education of such orphans as were without the means of otherwise obtaining it.

Mr. Girard was a Frenchman, of the humblest origin, and came to this city a poor man. By great industry, shrewdness, parsimony, and good fortune,—for his success was owing to a combination of all these,—he acquired immense wealth, and at his death left seven millions of dollars; two millions of which were given for the erection of the buildings of this Institution: and the residue of his estate, after paying some inconsiderable legacies, was appropriated to its endowment; so that it is thought there will be at the least a fund of five millions of dollars, or one million sterling, as a permanent investment; the interest of which, in this country not less than 60,000*l.* sterling per annum, will be at the disposal of the trustees for annual expenditure.

A remarkable condition of this Institution, enjoined by the will of Mr. Girard, is this, that “no clergyman, preacher, teacher, or minister, of any sect of religion, shall have any share in the trusteeship, management, direction, or tuition of the college; but from all these shall be absolutely and for ever excluded.” The motive for this condition is alleged

to have been his determination to guard against any possible sectarian predominance, from a belief that it would operate, if established, disadvantageously to the just distribution of the privileges of the Institution, to the various claimants for admission, according to their respective modes of faith.

Mr. Girard was, himself, nominally a Roman Catholic. His directions respecting the building of the College, which were very circumstantial and minute, ordered that it should be a plain substantial structure. But the executors, to whom the expenditure of the money is entrusted, having ascertained that his directions could not be literally and exactly complied with in every particular, have exercised their discretion in departing from the design of the founder in this particular; and it will no doubt form as superb an edifice as the most ardent admirer of the splendid and the beautiful could desire.

The foundation-stone of the building was laid on the 4th of July, 1833, (the 57th anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence,) with becoming honours, by the architect, Thomas U. Walter, surrounded by the civic authorities and the building-committee, with an immense concourse of the citizens of Philadelphia; on which occasion, a very eloquent and appropriate address was delivered by Mr. Nicholas Biddle, the celebrated financier of America, and president of the United States Bank. I insert this address in the Appendix, among the other documents worthy of preservation, as illustrating the state of the county; first because it furnishes the best abstract of the origin, nature, and design of the institution itself, and next because it is a fine specimen

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of the learning, ability, and good taste which characterizes its accomplished author, and which is admitted by those most hostile to him in his financial capacity.\*

We had the advantage of seeing this noble structure, now rapidly advancing towards completion, twice; once under the guidance of the benevolent philanthropist, Mr. Matthew Carey, of this city; and next, in company with the architect himself, by whom the following brief but accurate description of the building was furnished to me:—

The Girard College is situated about one and a half miles north-west of the centre of the city, on a tract of land containing forty-five acres; the whole of which was appropriated by Mr. Girard exclusively to the purposes of the Institution.

The main building, which is the subject of this description, is composed in the Corinthian order of Grecian architecture; it covers a space of 184 by 243 feet, and consists of an octastyle peripteral superstructure, resting upon a basement of eight feet in height, composed entirely of steps extending around the whole edifice; by which a pyramidal appearance is given to the substruction, and a means of approach to the porticoes afforded from every side. The dimensions of the stylobate (or platform on which the columns stand,) are 159 feet on the fronts, by 217 feet on the flanks; and the cell, or body of the building, measures 111 feet by 169 feet 2 inches. The whole height, from the ground to the apex of the roof, is 100 feet.

The columns are thirty-four in number; the

\* See Appendix, No. I.

diameter of the shaft at the top of the base is six feet, and at the bottom of the capital five feet; the height of the capital is eight feet six inches, and its width, from the extreme corners of the abacus, nine feet; the whole height of the column, including capital and base, is fifty-five feet.

The entablature is sixteen feet three inches high and the greatest projection of the cornice, from the face of the frieze, is four feet nine inches; the elevation of the pediment is twenty feet five inches, being one-ninth of the span.

The capitals of the columns are proportioned from those of the Monument of Lysicrates, at Athens; they are divided in height into four courses—the first embraces the water leaf, and consists of a single stone of seventeen inches in thickness; the second course is also composed of a single stone, the height of which is two feet ten inches—the annular row of acanthus leaves occupies the whole of this course; the third division of the capital embraces the volutes and the cauliculi; this course, which is likewise two feet ten inches in height, is composed of two pieces, having the vertical joint between the cauliculi on two opposite faces; the fourth, or upper course, being the abacus, is one foot five inches in height.

The ceiling of the portico will be formed by beams resting on the tenia, and extending from the cell of the building to the colonnade opposite to each column; the spaces between the beams will be filled in with rich lacunaria.

The corners of the building are finished with mas-

sive antæ, having bases and capitals composed upon the principles of Grecian architecture.

The flanks of the cell are pierced with windows, which are ornamented with the Greek antæ, surmounted with architraves and cornices.

The doors of entrance are in the centre of the north and south fronts; they are each sixteen feet wide in the clear, by thirty-two feet high; their outside finish consists of antepagmenta, of two feet seven inches wide, the supercilium of which is surmounted with a frieze and cornice;—the cornice is supported by rich consoles, of six and a half feet in height, and the cymatium is ornamented with sculptured honeysuckles. The exterior of the whole structure will be composed of fine white marble, slightly tinted with blue.

The vestibules, which are approached by means of the doors at each end of the building, are ornamented with marble antæ, columns, and entablature, of the Greek Ionic order, which support a vaulted ceiling, consisting of elliptical groin arches, enriched with frets, guilloches, and lacunaria; the columns, which are sixteen in number, will each be composed of a single piece of marble;—the proportions of the order are from the Temple on the Illyssus at Athens.

The lobbies in the second story are directly over the vestibules, and occupy the same space. The columns in this story, which are also sixteen in number, will be composed in the simplest form of Corinthian or foliated architecture, proportioned from those of the Tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes at Athens; the entablature will be surmounted with



groin arches, similar to those in the vestibules, the soffits of which will be enriched with lacunaria.

The stairways will all be composed of marble; they will be constructed in the four corners of the building, each occupying a space of twenty-two by twenty-six feet, extending the whole height of the edifice; these openings will each be crowned with a pendentive parabolic dome, surmounted with a skylight of ten feet in diameter—the height of the skylight from the floor will be eighty feet.

The building is three stories in height; each of which is twenty-five feet from floor to floor: there are four rooms of fifty feet square in each story. Those of the first and second stories, are vaulted with groin arches; and those of the third story, with domes supported on pendentives, which spring from the corners of the rooms at the floor, and assume the form of a circle on the horizontal section at the height of nineteen feet. These rooms are lighted by means of skylights of sixteen feet in diameter. All the domes are terminated below the plane of the roof, and the skylights are designed to project but one foot above it, so as not to interfere with the character of the architecture.

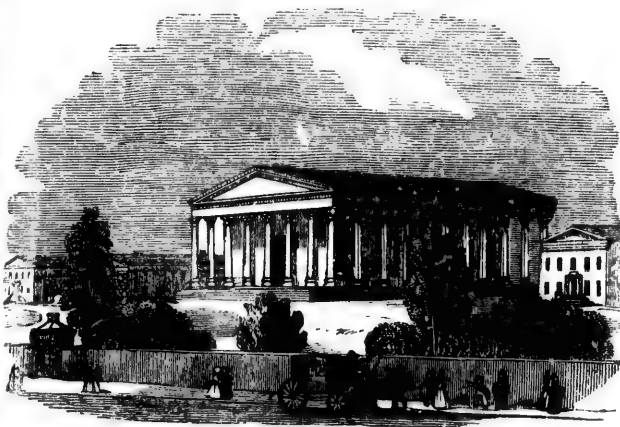
The whole building will be warmed by means of furnaces placed in the cellar; and every apartment will be ventilated upon philosophical principles.

For my own part, having examined this building with more than usual scrutiny, I am prepared to say, that in no country have I ever seen, either among the ruins of ancient, or the works of modern days, a more beautiful structure than this, or one in which chasteness of design, richness of decoration, and exquisite

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skill of workmanship, was more happily combined; yet every part of it is of unassisted American execution. When the grounds are completed, and the trees around it full-grown, it will be one of the most beautiful spots in the country, and well reward a visit to Philadelphia.



The Water-works at Fair Mount may take rank with the Girard College, if not for architectural taste, yet for its charming situation, its agreeable prospects, and its combination of beauty, simplicity, and utility, in the highest degree. We visited this spot early after our arrival in Philadelphia, and were sufficiently pleased with the excursion, to repeat it more than once afterwards; as a place of summer resort it has few superiors. There is a bridge across the river near this, which furnishes a good specimen of the difference between these struc-

tures in England and America. With us, bridges are almost wholly constructed of stone; in the United States they are generally of wood, and are enclosed with sides and roofs, so that they form long arched tunnels over the streams, with windows on each side for light and air. This is said to be necessary to their preservation: as the rain, snow, and sun, each operating powerfully in succession, would soon otherwise rot the wood, and destroy the whole structure.

Fair Mount, the original name of the hill which occupies this locality, rising on the eastern bank of the Schuylkill to a considerable height above the top of the loftiest houses in Philadelphia, was thought to be an eligible spot on which to construct a reservoir of water, from whence the city might be supplied, by pipes, at all seasons. The determination being made to effect this, the top of the hill was scarped down, to form a level platform; and this, extended by embankments on either side, was made sufficiently spacious to admit of several large basons or reservoirs being excavated therein, to contain the water required.

The next process was to construct a dam across the Schuylkill river, at this point less than a quarter of a mile broad; and then erect large water-wheels, to be moved by the current of the stream drawn from the dam; these wheels, putting in motion the requisite number of forcing-pumps, propel the water from the river to the reservoirs, a perpendicular height of about 50 feet above the level of the stream. From thence, being at least 50 feet higher than the general level of the houses in Philadelphia, it is readily conveyed to all the houses requiring it, in every

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part of the city. The power of this simple machinery is sufficient to supply the city with twenty millions of gallons of water per day, if so much were needed; but the actual consumption of the city is about ten millions of gallons per day in the summer, and five millions of gallons per day in the winter, the wheels never being impeded in their motion by the ice, however thick, and an under-current being always available, in the severest winter, to keep up the continuous supply.

The expense of this luxury is, on the average, from three to five dollars yearly only, for an entire family. The whole cost of the works, from first to last, including the spacious grounds and shrubberies attached, and the commodious house of entertainment for visitors, with all its auxiliaries, has been about a million of dollars; but it pays ample interest, and is a most profitable and economical outlay. The scenery of the surrounding region is extremely beautiful; the prospect from the eminences, to which flights of stairs ascend, is extensive; and the whole aspect of the place is that of enjoyment and repose.

While the city is thus abundantly and cheaply supplied with water, care has been taken to secure an equally easy and abundant supply of all the other provisions of life. Market Street, or, as it is sometimes called, High Street, is the central one of the parallel streets that run from the Delaware to the Schuylkill east and west, and it is nearly double the breadth of all the other streets of the city, excepting only the transverse central street, called Broad Street, which crosses it at right angles from north to south, and intersects the city into four quarters

by a perfect cross. Market Street is 12,500 feet in length, from river to river, and about 150 feet in breadth. Along the centre of it runs the covered ways for the public markets, one of which, from the Delaware westward, is a mile in length. The interior is admirably arranged for the purpose, and well sheltered; and in the space on each side, is the railway, communicating between Baltimore and New York through Philadelphia. The markets of this city are accounted the best in the United States, for abundance, good quality, and cheapness in the supplies. They are opened at daylight; and so early are the hours of business here, among all classes, that before eight o'clock in the morning the markets are almost all cleared.

The Navy Yard at Philadelphia, which is seated on the southern extremity of the city, by Southwark and Greenwich, on the west bank of the Delaware, differs in nothing from those of New York and Washington, being provided with all the necessary conveniences and materials for building and equipping ships of the largest size, but not possessing, as in the British navy-yards, dry docks for repairs. One of the largest ships in the world has recently been built at this navy-yard, and named the *Pennsylvania*. She is pierced for 130 guns of the largest calibre, and is several hundred tons larger than the largest ship of war in any European navy. She had sailed for Norfolk before my arrival: but I have been assured by competent and impartial judges, that she was as beautiful in form and model, as she was stupendous in size and strength; which I can readily believe, as no candid seaman would deny that in

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their ships of war, as well as in their merchant vessels, the Americans have evinced a decided superiority in taste to their British progenitors.

The appearance of the navy-yard, on the approach to the city by the Delaware, is very striking: the immense covered shed, under which the Pennsylvania was built, is still erect, looking like a gigantic magazine, being 270 feet long, 84 wide, and 103 feet high, and towering above all the other buildings, except the steeples of the city; while a sweep of the shore beyond, in a graceful concave curve, exhibits the long line of the city-wharves, with innumerable ships and smaller craft, as far as Kensington, the suburb which terminates the northern view in the distance.

VOL. II.

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### CHAP. III.

Prisons of reformation in Philadelphia—Visit to the prison of Moyamensing—State and condition of this establishment—Statistics of crime and disease—Personal inspection of the convicts at their labour—Effects of solitary confinement without labour—Benefits of solitary confinement with labour—The Eastern penitentiary, or state prison—Statistics of crime and disease there—Proportions of natives and foreigners, and white and coloured races—Churches of Philadelphia, old and new—Religious sects, and their comparative numbers—Establishments for education, public and private—Report on the state of education in Pennsylvania—Philosophical Society, and Athenæum—Historical relics in the Athenæum—Character of its secretary, Mr. John Vaughan—Characteristic letter of Benjamin Franklin—Tomb of Franklin in Philadelphia—Epitaph—Philadelphia library—Franklin institute—Academy of sciences—New museum—Musical-fund hall—Public concerts—Public squares for promenades—Newspapers—Periodicals—Book stores.

THE prisons of Philadelphia are remarkable for their structure as edifices, and still more so for their excellence in arrangement, efficiency in discipline, and, above all, in their conduciveness to the reformation of the unhappy victims who become their inmates. There is perhaps nothing, in all the institutions of the country, in which the Americans manifest a greater superiority to the English, than in their treatment of prisoners. It is matter of common observation in England, that owing to the congregated manner in which criminals live in the prisons at

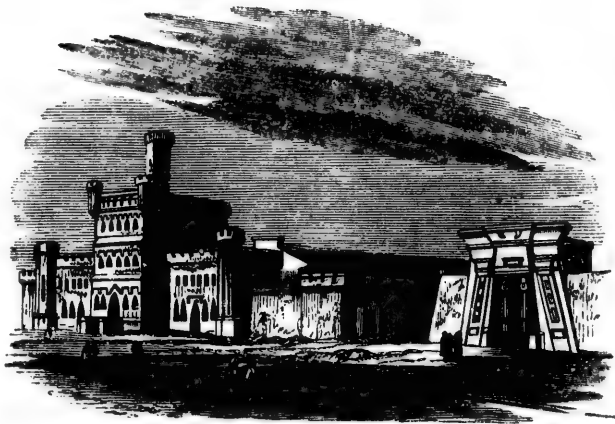
home, few ever come out without being made more immoral by contamination, than when they went in, and none appear to come out less so. In this country, on the contrary, there are none who come out worse, but almost all are made better by their confinement in solitary cells, substituting habits of industry, order, cleanliness, and reflection, for those of idleness, disorder, filth, and recklessness, and placing themselves in a fair way to recommence life anew in an honest and useful career. In a national point of view, perhaps, there is no object of greater importance than this : and I was therefore anxious to examine the prisons of Philadelphia, and investigate their system of discipline in detail.

The first that we visited was the county prison, in the suburb or quarter of Philadelphia, called Moyamensing, to the south of the city. We had the advantage of being attended there by the architect who built it, Mr. Walter, and who was thoroughly conversant with all its arrangements. This building is of comparatively recent erection ; and is made to contain the prisoners that were formerly confined in several jails within the city ; it being the wise policy of the present race to remove from the interior of the cities in America two descriptions of public works, that ought never to have been placed amidst congregated dwellings ; namely, prisons for the confinement and reformation of criminals, and cemeteries for the burial of the dead ; both of which are now fast removing to the suburbs and surrounding country.

The building is constructed in what is called the



castellated style, and is extremely massive, with large gates, battlements, turrets, and tower. It is built



of a fine bluish-grey granite, admirably worked, with deep-set, pointed-arch windows, in oak frames, and long narrow slits in the turrets and tower, giving it the appearance of a baronial castle of the feudal ages; and, as a work of architecture, it is highly imposing. It was commenced in pursuance of an act of the State legislature of Pennsylvania in 1831, and was completed in 1836, at a cost of 300,000 dollars, or about 60,000%. The sale, however, of the land on which the other prisons stood in the city, at the enhanced value of such property, with the disposal of their materials, and the saving in the co-operative management of three prisons combined in one, more than reimburses the whole outlay, and

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makes it a matter of actual profit, in a pecuniary sense, to the funds of the State.

The interior is so constructed, as that each prisoner, whatever the nature of his offence, or the term of his confinement, has a separate cell or room to himself. Long avenues or corridors, leading from a common centre, extending nearly 400 feet in a straight line, and being about 20 feet in breadth, have on each side three rows of these separate rooms, in three separate stories, all marked and numbered for registry and inspection, to the extent of 204 cells in each corridor; each of the stories is approached by a long iron balcony, and iron bridges cross the corridor at intervals. We entered several of these apartments, and found each to be a vaulted room, about twelve feet by ten, and about twelve feet high, with a large grated window for light and air, and apertures in the walls for draft ventilation. The rooms were all remarkable for their extreme cleanliness, and the total absence of any disagreeable smell, though there is a well-concealed closet in each room, but so constructed as to ensure its own purification; while water, from the Fair Mount Waterworks, some miles off, is conveyed by pipes and a brass cock into each room. In each was a neat clean bedstead, with excellent bedding, a chair, table, with clean linen, a box for clothes, and a bible.

Except the solitude, there was nothing that had the air of a prison about it; and tens of thousands of the peasantry and artisans of Britain live in far inferior apartments. The entrance into each cell is by a double door; the outer one being a solid mass of iron with bolts and bars, and the inner

one, separated from it by the thickness of the wall, about two feet, is an open grating-work of iron, through which the prisoner can at any time be seen by the inspector, and a small hatch, through which his food and other necessities are conveyed to him. The temperature of the whole establishment is regulated by flues, so that no fires are necessary in any of the cells or corridors, while the whole is kept at a heat adapted to the health and labour of the individuals.

During the present year 1838, a committee was appointed by the legislature of Pennsylvania to examine into the condition of the Moyamensing prison, and report their opinion to the State. The investigation appears to have been conducted with great impartiality and fairness, and the statistical information obtained by these inquiries was eminently useful and instructive. The substance of their report, in the accuracy of which the greatest confidence is placed, may be thus briefly stated.

"The institution is under the control of a board of inspectors, consisting of twelve citizens, who are required to serve without any pecuniary compensation. They are appointed by the courts of the city and county, and are so arranged into classes, as that one-fourth of the number go out of office yearly. Three of their number, who are delegated monthly, act as visiting inspectors, whose duty it is to go to the prison at least once a week, and oftener if needful, and examine into its state and condition.

"There are also a superintendent and matron, who reside in the institution, and are prohibited from absenting themselves for a single night, unless with the consent of two inspectors, in writing; and the matron must also have the consent of the superintendent. The apartment occupied by the females is under the special charge of the matron. It is made the duty of the keepers to inspect the condition of the prisoners committed to their care, at least twice a

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day, and oftener if practicable. The physician is required to visit the prison once a day, and prescribe for the sick, and once a month to see every convict, and report monthly in writing to the inspectors.

" Agreeably to the act of April, 1835, persons convicted of any crime, the punishment of which would be imprisonment in the jail and penitentiary-house of Philadelphia, for a period of time *under* two years, are required to be sent into this prison; to be kept in separate and solitary confinement at labour.

" The number of persons committed from June 1st, 1836, till December 31st, of the same year, was 2,576, exclusive of those received from the Arch Street prison. The whole number of commitments, during the year 1837, was 4,279. The total number of convictions, 366; the number discharged by the magistrates who issued the commitments, 1,798; and the total number enlarged by the judges of the courts, attorney-general, inspectors, and other persons, and in due course of law, is 2,048; deaths, 4.

" Different kinds of mechanical pursuits are carried on in the prison; such as cordwaining in all its branches: manufacture of checks and plaids; the cabinet business; blacksmithing, &c. The manufactures are sold by an agent or commission merchant, who is directed to obtain the highest price. The proceeds of the articles sold are vested in the general fund, for the purpose of providing the raw material and tools used in manufacturing; and in case there is a surplus, it is applied towards defraying the annual expenditure of the prison. In order to encourage habits of industry, an account is kept with each prisoner at work, and when discharged, if he has accomplished more than was assigned him to do, the inspectors pay the prisoner one-half of the value of the over-work. This practice, whilst it tends to stimulate the unfortunate convict to greater industry, at the same time furnishes him the means of subsistence for a short period, after, by pardon or expiration of the sentence, he obtains his liberty. It is certainly best that prisoners should not be set at large perfectly destitute, and thereby exposed to inducements to the commission of crime, which hunger and want of the necessary comforts may occasion.

" It is found that, with but rare exceptions, the prisoners prefer employment, as a means of rendering the solitary confinement

more tolerable; and as a consequence, the entire establishment, under the skilful management of its officers, exhibits an interesting scene of almost constant and systematic industry.

"It is true, that prisoners being received, under the law, into this prison, for crimes of the inferior grades, are usually sentenced by the courts, for periods too short to enable those who have no trade, to become very proficient; yet, still it is found, they can soon be taught so as to be useful. The statistics of the institution prove that a large proportion of those annually committed, are either without any trades, or possessing a very imperfect knowledge of those they profess; and many cannot read or write.

"The object of the separate confinement, being the reformation and instruction of the prisoners, the efforts of the officers of the institution are greatly aided by the humane exertions of some benevolent associations in the city of Philadelphia. Among these, is the 'Philadelphia Society for alleviating the miseries of public prisons.' This association, under the name of 'the Philadelphia Society for assisting distressed prisoners,' was originally formed in 1776, and, after a short but useful existence, was dissolved in the year 1777. In the year 1787, some of the surviving members of the society just mentioned, and some other individuals, re-organized the association, under the style and title it now bears. It has the enviable fame of being the first to reduce the humane and philosophic theory of preventive and reforming punishments, by the separate confinement and instruction of prisoners, to the unerring test of successful experiment. The acting committee of this society are, under the law, official visitors.

"In the management of the establishment, the injunctions of the law are observed with fidelity, and every visiter can bear testimony to the cleanliness and neatness of the prison; and also to the cleanliness and healthful appearance of the convicts generally. The prisoners, both those tried and sentenced, as well as those untried, express themselves entirely satisfied with their treatment. They speak kindly of the officers; and admit they were well fed and clothed, and as comfortable as they could be in a life of solitude.

"They seem utterly ignorant of passing events without; and owing to the admirable plan of the cells, can have no communication with each other. The cells being sufficiently roomy, are lighted, ventilated, and heated, in such manner, as to contribute

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largely to the health and personal comfort of the inmates. The superior excellence of this mode of punishment, is manifested by the fact, that the mortality is greatly less than it was in the Arch Street jail. The inspectors, in a report made during the last session of the Legislature to a committee of the House of Representatives, hold the following language, viz. : ' There is no less than twenty-five deaths in five months, in the Arch Street prison; and only eight in seven months, in the untried apartment, in the Philadelphia county prison, or 25 deaths out of 1,443 committed to the Arch Street, and only 8 deaths out of 2,576 committed to the Philadelphia county prison.' The principle of separate confinement is carried out, without any exception, in the cases of persons who have been tried and sentenced; but the number of vagrants and others, who are committed upon complaints, of which many are frivolous, and some turn out to be groundless, so fills the prison, as occasionally to create a necessity for placing two in the same cell, in the untried apartment. In no instance, however, are the different sexes permitted to see or converse with each other.

This institution has been in operation since the 1st of June, 1836, and at first laboured under the disadvantage of having cells, at once, nearly filled with prisoners from the Arch Street and Walnut Street jails, who had been accustomed to comparatively loose discipline, and to be indulged in mingling in each other's society; yet, whatever difficulties had, in the outset, to be encountered in the benevolent effort to introduce the penitentiary system of punishment, there now prevails a discipline, and economy, in the management of the affairs of the establishment, admirably calculated to accomplish the ends of the law.

" The expenses of such an establishment, destined for the reception of all persons charged with crime, among so vast a population as that of the city and county of Philadelphia, must necessarily be great—it averages per annum about 23,225 dollars. This, however, merits but little consideration, when contrasted with the great benefits, in a moral point of view, that flow from such a wise expenditure of money. The introduction of solitary confinement, accompanied with labour, and instruction in the principles of morality, and in some of the mechanical arts, it is confidently believed, has had an effect, to a certain extent at least, of not only

working reformation, but of deterring others from the perpetration of crime, and of breaking up companies of dissolute men, who were associated for the purpose of obtaining livelihoods by stealing and other unlawful means."

From the statistical tables accompanying the report, the following facts are selected. Of the numbers committed to this prison in one year, 1837, the total was 4,279. The largest numbers were: for drunkenness 156—stealing 762—assault and battery 962. The smallest numbers were: sending a challenge 1—robbery 1—manslaughter 1. Of 218 convicts, that were taken as an average, from the whole number for examination into their condition and habits, it was found that 69 could neither read nor write; 58 could read only; and 91 could read and write. Of the same number, 134 were of intemperate habits; 35 moderate in their use of drink; and 49 were abstemious, or more moderate; but there were none who abstained altogether from strong drink: 187 were convicted for the first time; 29 for the second time; and 2 for the third time. Of 205 untried prisoners in the Institution, 128 were intemperate, 48 moderate, and 29 abstemious in their use of strong drinks—110 could neither read nor write—41 could read, and 54 could read and write. The cases of disease that occurred in the prison in 1837, were 113: of which 91 were cured, 9 relieved, and 13 died. The cases of syphilis were 31—of delirium tremens 30—of fever 12—of consumption 8. In all these cases, the coloured persons were more numerous than the whites, in the proportion of about three to two, which is the usual proportion of their numbers in the Institution generally.

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We saw many of the convicts at their labour, some weaving at a small loom in their own cell; others making shoes; and some engaged in other occupations. The prisoners, as they came in for different offences and for different periods, and as they are also of very different dispositions, are not all treated alike. The severest punishment is confinement without labour, in a dark cell, on half a pound of bread per day. A step less severe, is to admit light, and the usual supply of food, but to deny the prisoner the pleasure of labouring, by taking away his work, and all the materials of it. This is in general found to be severe enough to bring them to a sense of duty, and to make them intreat for the restoration of their labour on almost any terms.

It has been found, indeed, that solitary confinement without labour, if too prolonged, will produce insanity; but with labour, it allows the fullest scope for reflection, and thus produces the best kind of moral reformation—good resolutions, founded on a conviction of their utility to the interests of the person making them; besides which, it gives habits of industry to the indolent, preserves such habits to those in whom they were only broken or suspended, and lays up for the labourer, as the produce of his own efforts, after his task for self-maintenance has been performed, a sum that enables him to remove himself from the place of his disgrace, to one where he is unknown, and to begin the world anew with a small capital in money, and an unsuspected reputation. An instance recently occurred in which a discharged individual, who had been confined for the full term of two years, had 120 dollars paid to him,



as the produce of his extra-labour, or about 25 $\frac{1}{2}$  sterling.

Since the completion of the prison for criminals, a smaller county prison for debtors has been erected near to it, adjoining the general pile. This is built of a red free-stone, not unlike the Syenite granite of Egypt in colour; and the façade is that of an Egyptian temple—the details being all copied from the great French work on Egypt: their combination being the architect's own. As an object for the eye, it is interesting; but it affects the heart and understanding far from agreeably, to see that, amidst so much intelligence and benevolence as characterize the institutions of this country generally, the people should not yet have arrived at the discovery, that imprisonment for debt is as injurious to the creditor as it is to the debtor, and even in England is all but abolished by the firm determination of the public mind.

The Eastern Penitentiary, which is situated in the opposite quarter of Philadelphia, in the north-west suburbs, is the State-prison—that is, for the whole State of Pennsylvania, while Moyamensing is for the city and county of Philadelphia only. It is consequently on a much larger scale, being indeed one of the largest prisons in the United States, and covers about ten acres of ground. This was opened in 1829; since which, however, several additions have been made to it. The outer wall of enclosure rises up like the walls of a fortified town; and the gates, towers, and battlements, give it the air of a military fortress, rather than of a prison. In the interior are eight long avenues or corridors, all radiating from a

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common centre, called the Observatory, in the courtyard, from whence the superintendent can look down each, and see whatever is passing in front of all the cells, which are constructed generally in the same manner as those of Moyamensing—the principle of solitary confinement, with labour, being the same in each.

The whole number of prisoners confined here, since its first opening in 1829, has been 858; of whom, during the nine years that have elapsed, 381 were discharged by the expiration of their sentences, 39 by pardon, and 50 died: of these, 719 were native-born Americans, and 139 were foreigners; 422 could read and write; 232 could read only; and 204 could neither read nor write: 532 were white males; 12 only, white females; 290 were coloured males, and 24 only, coloured females. The mortality during this period averaged only 3 per cent. on the whole number confined. At the present time, the total number of the inmates is 387: of whom, 224 are white males, 5 white females, 144 coloured males, and 14 coloured females.

The state and condition of this establishment, in cleanliness, health, order, and good discipline, is not inferior to that of the county prison already described: and both might serve as admirable models for any country in Europe, as they effect, what few other prisons ever do, the reformation, as well as the punishment, of the criminal, instead of making this last, as the older establishments of Europe have mostly hitherto done, the only end and aim of imprisonment.

The Churches of Philadelphia are as numerous in

proportion to the population of the city, as in New York, and more numerous than in any city or town in England; they are, moreover, all remarkable for the great simplicity and beauty of their interiors, the admirable arrangements for the comfort of the worshippers, and the happy union of the solemn, the chaste, and the beautiful. The only exception to this is, perhaps, in the florid interior of the Catholic church of St. John's, though even this harmonizes well with the gorgeous dresses and pompous ceremonies that characterize the worship of this body of Christians.

The oldest of the religious edifices in Philadelphia is Christ church, which was first erected in 1695. It was then only one story high, and so low that a tall person could touch the ceiling with his hand. Its belfry was the fork of an old tree near it, on which was hung the bell that summoned the worshippers to service; this was truly a primitive church. In 1708, a service of sacramental vessels, in silver, was presented to it by Queen Anne; in 1710, it was enlarged; in 1727, a new western end was built; in 1731, the eastern one was completed; and in 1754 the steeple, which is still the loftiest in the city, being 196 feet high, was completed. It is curious that the sum raised for the erection of this, was by means of a lottery, after which there was another lottery for the benefit of the vestry! This was in the "good old times" of colonial manners: the sum of 6,000 dollars was thus obtained. A peal of eight bells were soon after imported from England, at a cost of 900*l.* sterling; and when they were put up and rung, they were regarded as so great a novelty, that people came

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from the neighbouring villages in great numbers to listen to their sounds. During the contests of the revolutionary war they were taken down and buried in the river Delaware, to preserve them from falling into the hands of the British, but were restored to their original place after the cessation of the struggle.

The more modern churches are among the most beautiful places of worship that can be seen, combining ample accommodation, great comfort, simplicity, chaste ornament, and beautiful proportions, in a very high degree; their whole number exceeds a hundred; the services in all, whether Episcopalian or others, is characterized by more solemnity and earnestness of devotion than in England. The organs and choirs are uniformly excellent, and the music far above the general standard of church-music in England. The clergy of each denomination—for here, all ministers of religion are called clergy, and all places of worship churches, the terms “dissenting ministers” and “dissenters’ chapels” being unknown—are almost uniformly well-educated and gentlemanly men, and, above all, persons of pure morals and unquestionable integrity; for without these qualifications, no amount of attainments or extent of patronage would avail them.

Of the religious sects, the Presbyterians are the most numerous; having, in this State, 450 churches, 250 clergymen, and about 50,000 communicants. These are about to separate, however, into two bodies, the old and the new school, on some points of difference as to church government, as well as of doctrine. The Methodists have more than 50,000 members; the Baptists come next; then the Episcopalians; and lastly the Quakers, now divided into

two bodies—the orthodox, or old Quakers of Penn's school; and the Unitarian, or new body of Hicksites. The Unitarians have only five congregations in the State; but the German Reformed, and the Roman Catholic churches, are numerous, and both, it is alleged, are upon the increase.

Establishments for education are sufficiently patronized and supported in the city of Philadelphia itself, both in public or common schools, Sunday-schools, and private seminaries, of which the number is considerable. But in the interior of the State, where the descendants of the Dutch and German settlers are not so much alive to the importance of education—the schools are few, and slightly attended. On this subject, the following is the language of the last report of the Pennsylvania Society for the promotion of public schools—"There are at least 400,000 children in Pennsylvania between the ages of five and fifteen. Of these, during the past year, there were not 150,000 in all the schools of the State. Many counties, townships, and villages have been taken indiscriminately from all parts of the State; and, on examination, the average proportion of children educated in any one year, compared with the entire number of children between the specified ages, appears to be only one out of three. It is probable that this proportion prevails generally throughout Pennsylvania, and justifies the assertion, that more than 250,000 children, capable of instruction, were not within a school during the past year. Many of these children never go to school at all."

Among the higher establishments connected with literature and the promotion of general knowledge,

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the Philosophical Society, whose rooms are now the Athenæum of Philadelphia, takes a very high rank ; it grew out of two societies, originally founded by Benjamin Franklin—the one, in 1728, under the title of “The Junto ;” and the other, in 1744, under the name of “The American Philosophical Society.” These were united in 1769 under the present name. Its objects are sufficiently comprehensive to embrace almost every thing calculated to advance the taste for literature, natural philosophy, science, antiquities, and the arts ; and it has accordingly periodical meetings of its members, for the reading of original papers and the discussion of literary or scientific subjects, which are well attended. It publishes a regular series of Transactions, like the learned societies of Europe, of which it has fifteen volumes completed. It has a library of 11,000 volumes, mostly works of great value, and such as are difficult to be found elsewhere. It is particularly rich in pamphlets, and public documents, manuscript and printed, illustrative of American history. It corresponds with upwards of fifty of the learned and scientific Societies of Europe, and receives their Transactions regularly in exchange ; and it has the best Museum of Mexican and Peruvian antiquities existing anywhere on the continent of America.

We had the good fortune to visit this Institution, in company with its venerable and estimable secretary, Mr. John Vaughan, and to meet there the equally venerable and estimable Dr. Duponçeau, the president, one of the greatest philologists and most remarkable men of the day. These gentlemen were each above eighty years of age, and yet both

were strong in body and vigorous in mind. They each preserved, in a remarkable degree, and in all their original freshness, the peculiarities of their respective nations, England and France, and yet nothing could be more friendly or affectionate than their intercourse.

It was in the society of these venerable relics of the olden time, who were each personally acquainted with most of the great characters of the American revolution—Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, and others—that we sat in the chair of Columbus, an antique, upright, black polished wooden chair, covered all over with various devices, and, like some of the old chairs of Henry the Seventh's time, seen in England;—in the chair of Jefferson, with its moveable writing-desk affixed, on which the original draft of the Declaration of Independence was penned;—in the chair occupied by Franklin, in the assembly which adopted that Declaration, and in which he affixed his signature to that magna charta of American liberty. Here also we had the pleasure to read the original draft and amended copy, such as it was made after the revision of a select committee, to whom this duty was entrusted, and to compare both with the printed copy first issued from the American press; and at the same time to be looking upon an original portrait of William Penn, taken from the life, while a young man, before he became a Quaker, and habited in the half-court and half-military dress of the days of Charles the Second. All these were combinations and associations so new and interesting, that we prolonged our visit for several hours, and were delighted during the whole of the time.

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The character of Mr. Vaughan is public property, at least it has been so made by one of his fellow-citizens, the philanthropic Matthew Carey, who, in an interesting little work called, the "Annals of Benevolence," has written Mr. Vaughan's eulogy with the pen of truth, though guided by a friendly hand; and as it is alike honourable to the writer and to the subject of his commendation, the former an Irishman and the latter an Englishman, and both octagenarians, I insert here.

"The possession of great wealth is not necessary to entitle an individual to be enrolled among the honourable class of benefactors of their fellow men. Many a person, who, in the course of a long life, has not given five hundred dollars, or even one hundred, for benevolent or charitable purposes—simply from slenderness of means, not from narrowness of heart—has higher claims to the respect, esteem, and gratitude of his fellows, than some who have *bequeathed* to such objects hundreds of thousands, which they clutched, during life, with an iron grasp, and reluctantly parted with when they could clutch them no longer; unmoved by the noble ambition of being their own executors, for, at least, a portion of their wealth, and of enjoying the luxury of seeing the objects for which it is to be ultimately bequeathed, rising and prospering under their eyes, and shedding their benign influence around. To a man possessing the inestimable blessing of *mens sana in corpore sano*, this would be the most exquisite delight this world affords. For such exalted purposes alone would a truly wise man desire the accumulation of wealth beyond what is requisite to procure the comforts of life.

"Among those whose means are incommensurate with their expansive benevolence, there are few more worthy of honourable mention than John Vaughan, Esq., one of our citizens, an Englishman, who has resided among us for fifty-five years. Throughout his whole life, a large portion of his time has been employed in active beneficence; and he has probably done as much good with slender



means, as any man living, and more, far more, than some possessed of countless treasures. To needy strangers, particularly his countrymen, destitute of money and friends, and, though industrious and desirous to work, destitute of employment, his services have been invaluable. For hundreds of persons, thus circumstanced, he has found advantageous situations; many of whom are now in independent circumstances, the foundation of which was laid by his interference.

"To respectable foreigners he is well known, as, I had almost said, the accredited Cicerone of Philadelphia. He either accompanies or procures them access to whatever our city possesses worthy of attention. During the six months in which the social circle of the Wistar Club holds its weekly sessions, he is relied on for introducing such strangers of the above description as have no acquaintances among the members, from the latter of whom, in this capacity, he holds *carte blanche*.

"Although his means are far from affluent, his contributions to public objects are in as full proportion to his income as those of any other citizen whatever, and far more than those of many who possess twenty dollars to his one.

"He is now about eighty-two years old, and, owing to a good constitution and steady habits of uniform temperance, in regard to food and drink, he is nearly as active in his beneficent routine of duty, as he has been at any time for forty years. He rises early; and few mornings pass over that he is not seen escorting some stranger, lady or gentleman, to the steam-boat for Baltimore or New York.

"When his last sand is run—his mortal remains deposited in the silent grave—and his spirit shall have ascended to the dread tribunal of the Judge of the living and the dead, his demise will be lamented as a serious public loss by the great body of his fellow-citizens, by whom he is held in universal veneration.

"His death will create a chasm in our city, which, it is to be feared, will not be soon or easily filled up. But let us hope, that his mantle, like that of Elias, will fall on some Elisha, who will emulate his virtues—his activity—and his benevolence—and thus

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earn that meed of praise and gratitude which the public voice awards to John Vaughan."\*

Among the memorials and characteristic anecdotes of the celebrated Benjamin Franklin, of which the Athenæum and Mr. Vaughan are full, I met with one which, as a specimen of benevolence, humour, generosity, and delicacy, combined, deserves to be made as public as possible : and with this view I give it here. It is a letter from Franklin, addressed to a poor Irish clergyman named Nixon, who was in great distress at Paris, and applied to him for relief, in reply to which Franklin wrote him the following letter.

*"Paris, April 22, 1784.*

"I send you herewith a bill for ten louis d'or. I do not pretend to *give* you such a sum ; I only *lend* it to you. When you shall return to your country, you cannot fail getting into some business, that will in time enable you to pay all your debts. In that case, when you meet with another honest man in similar distress, you must *pay me* by lending this sum *to him*, enjoining him to *discharge the debt* by a like operation, when he shall be able, and shall meet with such an opportunity. I hope it may thus go through many hands before it meets with a *knave* to stop its progress. This is a trick of mine for doing a good deal with a little money. I am not rich enough to afford *much* in good works, and so am obliged to be cunning and make the most out of a *little*.

"BENJAMIN FRANKLIN."

Notwithstanding the universal veneration expressed, and apparently felt, towards this patriot and philosopher, by the people of the United States, the same neglect of his tomb has been made matter of just complaint by the Americans themselves, as has been that of the sepulchres of General Wash-

\* The venerable writer of this eulogy has since descended to the grave ; but Mr. Vaughan, much his senior in years, still survives, being now 87.

ington at Mount Vernon, and of De Witt Clinton at Albany; and to show that this is well grounded, I transcribe the following from the Public Ledger of Philadelphia, a paper remarkable for its exemption from party trammels, and perfect independence of character. It is this:—

“FRANKLIN’S EPITAPH.—In the life of Dr. Franklin, we find the following epitaph, written by himself, and intended by him to be inscribed upon his tombstone:

‘The body of  
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Printer,  
(like the cover of an old book,  
its contents torn out,  
and stript of its lettering and gilding,)  
lies here, food for worms;  
yet the work itself shall not be lost,  
but will (as he believed) appear once more  
in a new  
and more beautiful edition,  
corrected and amended  
by  
THE AUTHOR.’

“Has this been done? No! In the north-west corner of the Episcopal burying ground, on Mulberry Street, between Fourth and Fifth Streets, is a plain slab of gray marble, laid upon the ground, on which is the following inscription:

Benjamin	}	Franklin,
and		
Deborah		
		1790.

“We would suggest that the remains of Benjamin and Deborah Franklin be removed to Independence Square, and that this slab be placed over them, as at present; that a suitable monument of white Pennsylvania marble be placed ~~close~~ to it, on one side of which shall be inscribed the foregoing epitaph written by himself, and on the other sides, a brief sketch of his life, presenting the most important political events with which he was connected. If the middle

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walk of the Square be not a suitable place for this monument, let it be placed in the centre of one of the sections; and for the sake of uniformity, as well as for more important considerations, let a monument to Washington be placed in the centre of the opposite section."

The Philadelphia library, which was founded by Franklin, previously to the Athenæum, contains at present upwards of 40,000 volumes, well selected and well arranged. It is sustained by shareholders in its stock, and by the annual subscriptions of more than 2,000 subscribers, at four dollars a year each; and the whole of this sum is laid out annually by the committee in the purchase of additional books. It has a large and commodious building near the State House, and promises to become, in time, one of the best libraries in the country.

The Franklin Institute, and the Academy of National Sciences, are two excellent institutions, connected with the promotion of useful knowledge: and the Philadelphia Museum, which contains the most perfect union of the various parts of the mammoth that have been yet discovered in America, is rich in collections of various kinds. For its more perfect arrangement and display, a large building is now erecting in the heart of the city, the principal room of which is said to be only six feet less in length than Westminster Hall; though it is much narrower, but it is fitted with galleries and recesses, and well lighted from above, so that it will be one of the largest and finest museums in the Union. At one end of this building is a lecture-theatre, constructed on the old Roman plan of constantly-ascending semicircular seats, which will contain comfortably a thousand auditors.

Of places of public amusement, in our English acceptation of the term, there are not many in Philadelphia. There are three large theatres, one of which is closed, and the other two but occasionally opened; these are not much frequented by the more opulent or intelligent classes, but are sustained by the middle and humbler ranks. Music is more cultivated and better supported. A society exists called the Musical Fund Society, the hall of which will seat comfortably 1200 persons, and it is as well adapted for musical performances as any hall in Europe. Its meetings of members for practising concerts are frequent, and generally well attended. We were present at a concert given here by Madame Caradori Allen, which was very superior to the one given by her at Washington, both in the number and quality of the instrumental accompaniments, and in the character of the vocal selections. The conductor, Mr. Cross, played with great skill and power on the piano; a first-rate violinist, Mr. Keyser, a German, performed exquisitely on his instrument. Mr. Plaff, another German, executed pieces of great difficulty on the corno bassetto. And Madame Caradori herself sang with all her accustomed sweetness and good taste, and with more than her usual power. The audience was not so numerous as might have been expected (about 500 persons :) but the taste of the majority, like that of the assemblage at Washington, was below that of almost any audience of a similar city in England, as the only songs encored by them, among several of great merit and beauty, were the ballads of "Cease your funning," and "I'm over young to marry yet," the last of which seems to be an especial favourite with the multitude.

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There are more public squares for promenades, and larger and better ones too, in every respect, in Philadelphia, than in New York, or Baltimore. They have been longer laid out, and their grass lawns, large trees, and fine gravel walks, render them most agreeable; but they are probably less valued here than they would be in almost any other city, from the circumstance of the streets being such agreeable places for walking, so perfectly level, so smoothly paved on the causeways at least, and so agreeably shaded with trees on each side.

Of these squares, Franklin Square is the largest, being 632 feet from east to west, and 600 feet from north to south. A much larger square than this was planned by William Penn for the centre of his city, and which still bears his name; but it has been divided into four smaller squares, each of a good size. The square of Penn, indeed, has followed the fate of his city, in being contracted within narrower dimensions than at first intended; for his original plan is said to have been formed on a scale of three miles for each of its sides, or a square of twelve miles for the whole city; whereas it was subsequently abridged to two miles in length from east to west, and one mile in breadth from north to south, which forms the street limits of the present city, all beyond these limits belonging to the suburbs and liberties.

Independence Square, to the south of the State House, is 470 feet by 398; and Washington Square, near it, is 456 feet by 370; while Logan Square and Ruttenhouse Square are hardly inferior in size; and when the trees in each are more fully grown, there

will be valuable additions to the means of healthy recreation and exercise for the population.

The newspapers of Philadelphia are as numerous as they are in all the large towns of the United States. There are seven daily morning papers, and two daily evening papers; the former are the United States Gazette, the Commercial Herald, the Pennsylvanian, the Inquirer, the Sentinel, the Public Ledger, and the Advertizer; and the latter are the National Gazette, and the Philadelphia Gazette. Of all these, there is but one, the Public Ledger, which is strictly neutral in politics, (this being what is called a penny paper, though selling at one cent, or about a halfpenny per copy, and not more than half the size of the other papers,) and one only, the Pennsylvanian, which is democratic, or in favour of the present administration. All the rest are Whig, or, as we should call them in England, Conservative; that is, anti-democratic. In point of talent, they are all conducted with more ability and more fairness, as it struck me, than the papers of New York. There is less of personal vituperation and party abuse, and less of puffing and strained attempts at extravagance for wit. Their current of thought and tone of feeling is graver, and more dignified, and their style of expression more courteous and less dogmatical.

In addition to the daily papers, there are some few weekly ones, and three of large circulation, devoted exclusively to religious articles. Of these, the Presbyterian takes the first rank in circulation, and after this, the Episcopal Recorder and the

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Philadelphia Observer. They are each conducted with ability and consistency. The editors and proprietors are ministers and members of the respective sects of Christians to which they belong; and these papers answer here the purpose which monthly religious periodicals do in England, and answer it better; because the frequency of their appearance, once a week, makes them fitting vehicles of religious *news*, which causes them to find their way where books without news would hardly be welcome visitors; while their cheapness, ready transmission by the post, and freshness, occasions their religious essays to be read by thousands who would not approach them in any other shape.

Though there are two or three extensive publishers in Philadelphia, it is not so literary a city as New York, and still less so than Boston. There was a Quarterly Review published here a few years ago, and well conducted, but it could not be sustained, and it is now merged into some other periodical elsewhere, nor has its place been since supplied. Cheap literature is that which is most in request here; and the two classes of publications, which find the readiest sale, are cheap theological works of early or of modern date—and cheap reprints of English novels, and works of imagination. These are often sold in the same shop, where, over the door-way, may be seen the words "Theological Book-store," and "Catalogues of Religious Books to be had within," while placards in front of the same door, announce Byron's "Don Juan"—Lady Bury's "Flirtation," and Bulwer's "Ernest Maltravers," as among the popular works of the day.



#### CHAP. IV.

Manufactures, trade, and commerce of Philadelphia—Municipal government, mayor, alderman—Select and common councils—Legislation—Population, gradual increase from 1790—Proportion of white and coloured races—Proportion of males and females in each—Proportion of deaths to the whole numbers—Classes of society, aristocracy of birth and wealth—Middle class of general society—Dinner from the bar to the bench of Pennsylvania—General appearance of the inhabitants—Manners of Philadelphia society—Wretched condition of some labouring classes—Individual cases of extreme distress—Decline in the spirit of benevolence—Attributable to increasing wealth—Suggestion of a self-taxing society—Instances of munificent legacies—Contrast of the living and the dying.

Of the manufactures, trade, and commerce of Philadelphia, more may be said as to its prospects than as to its actual condition. At present, there is not nearly so much of either, as there might have been, or as there will be a few years hence, when the vast resources of the State come to be more fully developed. The few manufactories now carried on here are confined to carpets, floor-cloth, some hardware of a coarse kind, glass, porcelain, and articles of domestic consumption; but little or nothing is made for exportation, if we except a very extensive and excellent manufactory of steam-engines, conducted on a large scale, and supplying both the cities of the sea-coast, and the rising towns of the western waters.

The foreign commerce is almost as limited as the home-trade, the shipping of Philadelphia not equalling

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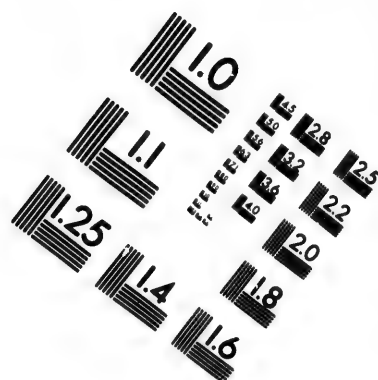
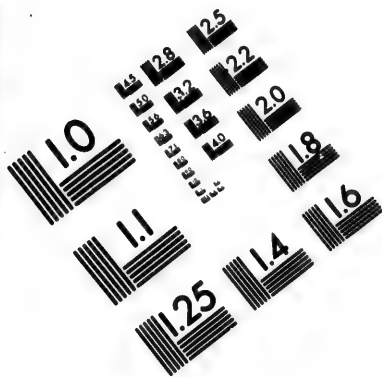
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a fourth of those of New York, and the shores of the Delaware presenting a striking contrast, in the fewness of the vessels upon it, compared with the forests of masts that line the banks of the East River and the Hudson at the latter city.

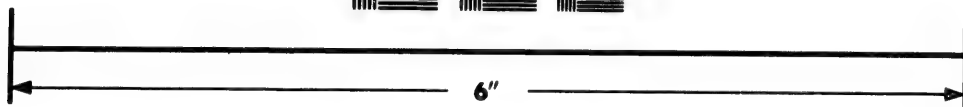
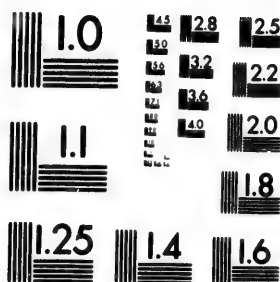
That which promises so much for the future, however, is the gradual development of the mineral wealth of Pennsylvania. In the interior of this State, has been recently discovered, beds of coal and iron, sufficiently extensive to afford materials for manufacturing, for centuries to come; and these will soon become articles of export to other parts of the country. The communications by rail-road and canal every day, extending into the interior, by Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, to the Ohio, and thence down the Mississippi, up the Missouri, and on by Arkansas and the Red River to Texas, and the Rocky Mountains, will facilitate the diffusion of imported as well as manufactured goods, and form a channel for the conveyance of cotton, tobacco, flour, and other native produce to Philadelphia, where the Delaware will form their outlet to Europe, the West Indies, and other parts of the world.

At present, it is true, New York has got the start of Philadelphia and Baltimore, in the internal and foreign trade, by being in advance of both, in her enterprizing undertakings. But the local position of both these latter cities, aided by internal canals and rail-roads, is such as to render it more than probable that each may in time attain a position of commercial eminence, greatly superior to that which they now enjoy; and every increase of population in the interior must accelerate this period, by the development





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of the resources of these parts, and by increased means of consumption.

The municipal government of Philadelphia was originally appointed by the proprietary, William Penn, but was gradually opened to the influence of the community in colonial times, till it was settled upon its present basis soon after the revolution. In 1789, the mayor was elected out of the municipal body only. In 1796, the select and common councils were included among the electors. And in 1826, the restriction of choosing the mayor from among the aldermen was abrogated; so that ever since that period this officer has been chosen out of the body of the citizens generally. As he is paid a salary of 2,000 dollars, or 400*l.* a year, and has the patronage of appointing nearly all the officers of the corporation except the city treasurer, it is a place sought after by many; but unfortunately in this, as in almost every public office, down to that of a constable, party politics, rather than the capacity and general qualifications of the individual, are made the test of fitness, and the Whigs and Democrats consider it a party victory or party defeat whenever their candidate is elected or beaten.

The recorder is appointed by the governor of the State; and, acting as a judge, he holds his office during good behaviour. There are fifteen aldermen who are also appointed by the governor; and as these sit as justices of the peace, for trials of suits where the amount does not exceed 100 dollars, they also hold their offices during good behaviour; that is, for life, unless convicted of wilful neglect or violation of duty, after trial. The Mayor's Court, at which

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the recorder and aldermen sit, has jurisdiction over all criminal offences committed within the city.

Though the recorder and aldermen are thus permanent in office, the legislative power of the municipal body resides in the select and common councils, who are elected by the people generally; and who, in their capacity as councillors, annually elect the mayor. The common council consists of twenty members, who are selected from persons qualified to serve as representatives in the State Assembly. The select council is formed of twelve members, chosen from persons qualified to serve as senators in the State Assembly.

These form, in short, the upper and the lower house of City legislation; the lower house being elected annually, and the upper house for three years, one-third going out by rotation every year. They sit in separate chambers, and serve without salary, and each body has a negative on the acts of the other, so that no ordinance or regulation can be made law without the consent of both. In practice, this constitution is found to work extremely well.

The population of Philadelphia, at the last census of 1830, was 139,888, of which the proportions were 80,406 in the city, and 59,482 in the liberties and suburbs. The proportion of increase in the decennial periods at which the census had been taken, beginning at 1790, were thus, in round numbers — 43,000 — 68,000 — 89,000 — 110,000 — 140,000. The greater proportionate increase of population within the last eight years, from immigration and other causes, induces the belief here that the next census of 1840 will exhibit a population of 200,000

for the city and suburbs, which, will probably be the case. The proportion of coloured people to whites is not large; being, in the city, at the last census, 9,256 coloured, to 71,150 white; and these proportions remain nearly the same. In each race there were a greater number of females than males, the white population exhibiting a return of 37,619 females, and 33,531 males; and the coloured population exhibiting a return of 5,231 females, and 4,025 males. The number of deaths in 1831 were 4,939, of which 2,720 were children, and 2,219 adults; the total of deaths being, therefore, in round numbers, 5,000, and the total of population in round numbers, 140,000; the proportion of deaths was 1 in 28, or about three and a half per cent. in the whole year. The greatest mortality in 1831 was in December, the number being 708, while the average of the other months was about 350; and in 1832, the greatest mortality was in August, the deaths being 1689, the average of the other months being about 450.

The classes into which the population are divided in Philadelphia, are very similar to those of New York and Baltimore. Though there is no titled nobility, or hereditary aristocracy, there is a decided aristocracy of family connexion, as well as of wealth; and of the two, the first are the most fastidious about the rank and station of their associates. The expressions of respect for those who are descended from the first families, or who belong to some of the oldest families of Pennsylvania, or Maryland, or New Jersey, or Virginia, are as frequently heard from the lips of Americans, as from those of the most aristocratic circles in our small country towns in

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VOL. II.



England; and the phrases "they are people of yesterday," and "people of no family," convey as much odium to an American ear as to an English one.

The greater number of those select gentry inherit land, or houses, or stock, from their parents, and are not engaged in trade. They are occasionally joined by families who have acquired fortunes in business, and retire, when they form a small leisure class, whose chief occupation is visiting, and social intercourse when at home, and travelling to the sea-side, or to the springs of Virginia or Saratoga, in the warm season. The style of living observed by this class, is what would be deemed elegant in any part of Europe; their houses are large and well furnished; their domestics numerous, though nearly all coloured; their parties gay and brilliant; their manners polished and refined; and their conversation intelligent and agreeable.

The class next in order of consequence or consideration, is the aristocracy of wealth, which is more extended in numbers, not so exclusive or scrupulous about the rank or fortune of their associates, and more easily accessible to persons of inferior pretensions to themselves. Their style of living is more profuse and expensive, though not so refined and elegant; their parties are larger and more costly, and their visiting more frequent and more general.

Among these, however, are to be found many philanthropic and benevolent individuals, who devote a large portion of their wealth, as well as their labour and their time, to the promotion of charitable and religious objects. There is no country on earth, perhaps, where so large a portion of the wealthy are generous philanthropists as in America; and in no

city of America are there more of this class than in Philadelphia. Mr. Matthew Carey, an Irishman and a Catholic—Mr. William Birch, an Englishman and a Unitarian—and Mr. Matthew Newkirk, an American and a Presbyterian—are splendid examples of this ; and show that neither origin, country, or peculiarity of creed, prevents the exercise of the higher virtues of charity and benevolence, by the most wealthy individuals who have hearts to feel for the woes of others.

The middle class of society in Philadelphia, —removed from either extreme, of bare competency (for of abject poverty there is very little) and great wealth—is composed of merchants, traders, professional men, including the clergy, physicians, lawyers, and sojourners from different parts of the country. These form, of course, a very mixed and miscellaneous class, but they are, on the whole, the most intelligent, and most agreeable to strangers. No scrupulous apprehensions about low birth, or want of high family connexions—and no dread of associating with a man of small fortune or none at all—ever interrupts the full flow of hilarity and good humour, which is so characteristic of this mixed class, among whom there is a sufficient amount of intelligence on all general subjects, and a sufficient frankness in the expression of their opinions, to render their society both instructive and entertaining.

One of the most agreeable entertainments that I had the pleasure to enjoy in Philadelphia, was a public dinner, given by the bar to the bench: at which there were about two hundred gentlemen of the legal profession, and forty or fifty others invited as guests. The circumstances which led to the

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dinner were these:—From the first ratification of the constitution of Pennsylvania, the judges of the Supreme and other courts have held their offices during good behaviour; but by the late convention held in Philadelphia, to consider the propriety of revising the constitution, an amendment was carried for fixing a limited period; I think, fifteen years for the services of a judge, instead of the life tenure, which the term of good behaviour generally includes. This was interpreted by many as implying a disapprobation of the general conduct of the judges, and a want of confidence in their impartiality. To counteract this, the bar of Pennsylvania gave the present entertainment, avowedly as a mark of respect and confidence towards the bench at large. Nearly all the judges (to the number perhaps of twenty) were present. Mr. Binning, a barrister of advanced years and large practice, presided; and his introductory speech, was clear, able, and well delivered. The speeches that followed were of a character to sustain the high reputation of the Philadelphia bar; and the whole entertainment was of a dignified and intellectual cast. I was unexpectedly called upon by name, to respond to the toast of “The Bench and Bar of England,” and it was extremely gratifying to hear, in almost every one of the speeches delivered, the highest admiration expressed of England and her laws, her lawyers and her judges.

The general appearance of the inhabitants of Philadelphia is highly favourable. The universal aspect of competency and comfort, which is presented on every side as one walks through the streets, where one meets none but well-dressed persons, of whatever class, is extremely agreeable. The gentlemen have

not that ease, and polish of manners, which seemed to us to characterize the same class at Baltimore ; nor did the ladies appear to us so graceful, and perfectly well-bred. But the number of pretty and elegantly-dressed women, between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five, that are to be seen in the principal streets of Philadelphia on a fine day, are as great, perhaps, as in any city of the world ; though we did not find, in either sex, that hearty frankness, and cordial generosity, which exists so generally at Baltimore, and which is said to be characteristic of the people of the entire South.

The Philadelphians have the reputation of being cold, formal, and difficult of approach ; and in comparison with the same class of society in New York and Baltimore, we found them so ; and heard this defect admitted by themselves, as well as reported of them by others. There was one feature, however, which we noticed so often, and saw so prominently, that we could not fail to be strongly impressed with it, which was the settled conviction that seemed to be imprinted on the minds, and even the persons of almost all the native Philadelphians we saw, that not only was their city one of the best built, cleanest, and most agreeable on the globe, (which would be readily conceded by most,) but that its inhabitants were among the handsomest and most intelligent people anywhere to be found ; a conviction which must, no doubt, be very pleasurable to those who indulge it, and which was indicated by the look and air of self-satisfaction that sat on almost every countenance we saw among the fashionable groups engaged in shopping, walking, or visiting their neighbours.

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Notwithstanding the competency and comfort which reign so generally throughout the city, and the entire absence of those revolting scenes of drunkenness, prostitution, wretchedness, and misery which obtrude themselves on the eye in almost every part of the great towns of England, there is yet a portion of suffering among even the sober and industrious classes of labourers here, for want of adequate remuneration. In a valuable tract, entitled "A Plea for the Poor, particularly Females, being an inquiry how far the charges alleged against them, of idleness, improvidence, and dissipation, are founded in truth," and of which the eighth edition is before me, written by the benevolent Matthew Carey, are some statements respecting the condition of this class in Philadelphia, which exhibit a melancholy contrast to the general comfort, and even opulence, of the rest of its inhabitants. These statements are all supported by such abundant authority as to leave no room whatever to doubt their accuracy. I read through the whole of this appeal, with its appendix of proofs, in detail, and I had an opportunity of consulting many individuals who had the best means of knowing the truth or error of the statements made; and the result of the whole was my thorough conviction that the following position is unequivocally established; namely, "that misery and distress may be found in Philadelphia, equal in intensity, though not in extent, to anything that is found in London or Paris."

Of individual cases of such distress the catalogue is a long and painful one, and the testimonies of public men, as well as of benevolent women, who interest

themselves in works of charity in this city, as to the accuracy of the statements made, are so numerous that it would occupy many pages to print them.

In the course of my conversations with the most zealous friends of the poor, with whom I had many opportunities of conferring, I learnt from almost all of them, that just in proportion as the wealth of the city increased, did the disposition to benevolence diminish; and that it was far more difficult to obtain 20 or 50,000 dollars for any benevolent purpose now, than it was twenty or thirty years ago. They were in general surprised at this; but I confess that it did not astonish me, because the result of my experience in all countries has been to convince me that this is the general course of things. Men constantly find the love of wealth increase with the amount of their possessions, and grow less and less disposed to part with it, just in proportion as they are more and more abundantly supplied. The consequence is, that the most truly generous people in every country are the poor, who will part with a penny out of the only shilling they have in the world, to relieve a distressed fellow-creature, with more readiness than a man of a thousand a year will part with a guinea for the same purpose.

The only just test of true generosity, is the proportion of a man's income that he will part with for charitable purposes; and judged by this test, it may be assumed as a rule, to which there are very few exceptions, that the poorer men are, the larger the proportion of their income will they part with, to give bread to the hungry and clothing to the naked; while as men grow richer and richer, the proportion they

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are willing to part with grows less and less, until the heart is sometimes sealed up entirely, by the very excess of the wealth of its owner.

It is much to be desired, that some benevolent society should be established on the principle of self-taxation exercised on all its members to the extent of 5 or 10 per cent. per annum, so as to raise a fund which in every city would be sufficient to assist all who were helpless, with shelter, food, and raiment; and furnish to those who *could* work, labour at remunerating prices, as the means of earning their own subsistence. This would be perfectly practicable, if the rich would set the example, for the poor would most readily follow them.

As a proof of the declining disposition to contribute to the support of benevolent objects, even in this country—and this decline has been only observed since the nation has become so absorbed in the pursuit of wealth—the following facts are taken from the Tract of Mr. Carey before referred to. The annual subscription to the Seamen's Aid Society, and the Impartial Humane Society of Baltimore, is only one dollar each, and it is remarked, that to the first there are, in the wealthy and commercial city of Boston, but about 350 subscribers, and, in the flourishing city of Baltimore, only 300 to the second! They ought each to have at least 500 to 750 subscribers, with a subscription at the rate of two or three dollars a year. The annual subscription to the Female Hospitable Society of Philadelphia, is two dollars. It had, in 1824, 500 subscribers, but the number has dwindled down to 108. The Provident Society of Philadelphia had, in 1824, 1015; but in 1833, only 186! None of these four societies give

alms ; they exercise their charity in the best possible form, by giving employment to the poor.

If the wealthy could but be induced to do more with their wealth while living, and leave less to be done with it when dead, they would effect much more good by their example ; and be relieved, also, from the suspicion, that were it not from the impossibility of taking their wealth with them, they would still have been reluctant to part with it at all. The liberality of the dying is, in all countries, greater than that of the living : but one might have hoped that in America—where no man of great opulence can spend his money beyond a limited extent in personal gratification, as he can in Europe—there would have arisen up a class willing to spend their money in charity, while yet able to see and enjoy the fruits of their munificence, instead of leaving it to the death-bed to stimulate them to part with that which they can no longer retain.

Mr. Stephen Girard is a memorable example of this kind of posthumous liberality. While living, his only pleasure seemed to be accumulation ; and when he could accumulate no more, but not before, then he gave his six millions of dollars to found the college for educating orphans which bears his name. A number of similar instances of tardy generosity are given in the little work, called "The Annals of Benevolence," before referred to. All, perhaps, were not able to give so much while living ; but all could, no doubt, have given a part, and felt no inconvenience from it ; and the practice of living contributions should be encouraged, as more wholesome to the giver, and more beneficial in general to the object to

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which the donations are applied. Here are a few cases :—

W. B. Read, of Newburyport, who lately died in Marblehead, bequeathed 68,000 dollars for benevolent purposes, besides liberal legacies to heirs and relatives.—John Lowell, a citizen of Boston, who lately died near Bombay, has left about 250,000 dollars towards founding an institution in Boston, for delivering lectures on scientific subjects.—Dr. Joseph Fisher, bequeathed 20,000 dollars to Harvard University, for the establishment of a professorship of natural history.—John M'Lean, of Cincinnati, made a bequest of 20,000 dollars to establish an historical professorship in the same University.—Mrs. Anna Maria Marsh, of Hindsdale, N. H., bequeathed 10,000 dollars to establish an Insane Asylum in Windham county.—Mr. Pontalba, late of New Orleans, bequeathed his whole property, valued at 100,000 francs, towards building a College for the education of 60 young persons, 20 from each of the parishes of Mont L'Eveque, Senlis, and New Orleans.—Mr. Taubman, late of Georgia, ordered, by his will, the emancipation of 48 slaves, who were to settle in that State, provided the Legislature would permit them to remain as freemen; otherwise, to be sent to Liberia. Permission to remain having been refused, they were to be shipped for that colony; Mr. T. bequeathed 10,000 dollars for the purpose of settling them there, in the event of their emigration. Mr. Ireland, of New Orleans, lately deceased, left, by his will, to the American Colonization Society, one-third of his estate, the whole of which is valued at 30,000 dollars. This makes 20,000 dollars from

New Orleans, in one year, for this special object.— Charles Ridgeley, of Maryland, bequeathed liberty to all his slaves, to the number of about 300— amounting, at an average of 200 dollars each, to 60,000 dollars.

Now there is hardly any one among all these cases, in which the donor might not have given half the amount in money during his life-time, and yet have had an income fully equal to his expenditure. He would have lost only the pleasure of accumulation ; and had, in exchange for this, the pleasure of seeing with his own eyes the good his benevolence had accomplished ; and as it respects the freedom given to the slaves, it would have been clearly better that this should have been wholly done during his life, as in this case nothing would have been lost ; for the hire of the same individuals, at adequate wages, would have secured the liberator their labour, which was their only value to him ; while to them, it would have been of the utmost advantage to have had a home and a kind master on their emancipation, instead of being left, as they now were, to shift for themselves.

It is remarkable to witness the change of opinion on slavery, which the approach of a death-bed generally produces. While the holders of slaves are in full health and vigour, and deriving a large pecuniary profit from the labour of their slaves, they believe, or at least assert, that it would be for the injury of the slaves themselves, to give them their freedom. But as sickness approaches, and death appears at hand, the pecuniary motive grows weaker and weaker—the perception of justice grows clearer

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and clearer, and the sense of responsibility to another tribunal, sinks deeper and deeper ; and then it is that the change is wrought, which leads so many to do, as an act of justice and benevolence while dying, what they could not summon up virtue enough to perform while living,—depriving themselves, by this delay, of the full credit of pure philanthropy, and depriving the objects of their benevolence also of more than half the advantage which an earlier gift of their freedom would have ensured to them.

## CHAP. V.

Anti-abolition riot at Philadelphia—Opening of Pennsylvania Hall—Attack of the mob on the building—Demolition of the hall by fire—Statements of the public prints—Additional facts from private sources—Continued acts of riot and disorder—Public meeting of the firemen of Philadelphia—Apathy and tardiness of the public authorities—Opinions of the leading journals—Proclamations of the Mayor and Governor—Attempt of the mob on a printing-office—Arrest of one of the rioters of “respectable family”—Letter of David Paul Brown, the barrister—Wholesome “Thoughts upon Recent Events.”

ONE of the most painful scenes we were called upon to witness in Philadelphia, and one that formed a melancholy contrast to the general good order, decorum, and peace of the city, was the destruction by an incendiary mob, of the large public building, called Pennsylvania Hall, erected for the purpose of holding public meetings for religious and benevolent objects, like Exeter Hall, in London, and very nearly equal to it in size. The history and details of this transaction are so characteristic of the public feeling on slavery, in this and in most other parts of the United States—whether slave states or free—and they are for this reason so likely to be misrepresented by partizans on either side, that I think it will be useful to record the circumstances as they transpired, with as much impartiality as possible, and while the evidence is accessible on the spot.

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It appears that for some years past, since the cause of slavery has been so warmly agitated in the north, and emancipation demanded at all hazards, the friends of the slave have found it almost impossible to obtain any public building, religious or otherwise, in which to hold their meetings for the purpose of discussing the question of abolition, and expressing their opinions freely upon it. To remedy this defect, a number of benevolent persons, chiefly though not entirely Quakers, determined on building a large hall, to be called the Pennsylvania Hall, the property of which was to be held in shares as a joint-stock, and the hall was to be let or rented out to religious and benevolent societies to hold their meetings in : abolition of slavery to be as freely discussed in it as any other public question. This hall was completed in the present month of May, and was publicly opened by the proprietors and directors on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of the month.

A body of delegates from the Abolition Societies of Boston and the New England States, having come on to Philadelphia to assist at this opening, composed chiefly of females, accompanied by Mr. Garrison, Miss Grimké, and other leading advocates of Abolition, they occupied the Hall for their meetings. This fact alone, of Abolition being publicly defended in a city where, before the erection of this Hall, no public room could be had for the purpose, excited the Southern people and their connexions in Philadelphia to a high degree; but it is thought that this would not have led to violence, had it not been accompanied by the following auxiliary "aggrava-

tions," as the opponents of abolition were pleased to term them.

Miss Grimké, a lady of good family in South Carolina, who was formerly a slave-holder, but who, from conviction of its injustice, left the South, and emancipated her slaves, and then entered the Society of Friends, of which she is now a member—was about to be married, and strangely enough chose Philadelphia to be the place of her union (her home being at Boston), and this exciting time of opening the Abolition Hall to be the period for its celebration; her husband was a Mr. Weld; and partaking of his bride's views as an abolitionist, the joint invitations of the bride and bridegroom were sent out, to invite a wedding party that should consist of an equal number of white and coloured people, who attended the wedding together.

One of the arrangements at the Hall was, also, so to mingle the white and coloured auditors, that all the usual separations and distinctions between them were disregarded; and in going to and from the Hall, white and coloured persons were seen leading arm-in-arm, a sight which had never before been witnessed, in this city at least, nor, perhaps, in any other part of America. Add to this, it is said that Mr. Garrison, in one of his speeches at the Hall, spoke of General Washington as being "a man-stealer," and "a tyrant over his coloured brethren;" and these additional sparks alighting on an already highly inflammable state of public feeling, soon kindled into an open blaze.

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coming more and more numerous and violent every hour, accomplished their great object, the entire destruction of the Pennsylvania Hall on the following day, Thursday. The narratives of the public journals, taken from those of both parties in politics, may be relied on for the general accuracy of the facts; the opinions, of course, will differ, but I shall give them both, and then add what came to my knowledge through private sources, and what fell under my own observation, to complete the whole. The following is from the *Pennsylvanian*, a democratic paper of May 18.

"A very discreditable disturbance was made by a large mob at Pennsylvania Hall, the new building of the Abolition Society, on Wednesday evening; the affair, however, luckily terminating with no results of a more serious character than the breaking of the windows. It was not a very valiant demonstration, either, on the part of those who amused themselves with throwing brickbats and broken bottles into the house, for we understand that the assemblage in the hall was chiefly composed of women; and to gather such an array, to yell and throw stones, for the purpose of alarming females, was not exactly a manly employment according to our notions, even if those assailed were ultra and fanatical abolitionists. For the reputation of Philadelphia, we earnestly hope that we may not be called upon to chronicle a repetition of scenes similar to that of Wednesday night."

This was written previous to the occurrence of the fire, which broke out, indeed, just as the morning papers are usually put to press; but on the following morning, May 19, the fuller narrative of the riot and fire was given in the same paper thus:—

"The destruction of Pennsylvania Hall by the rioters on Thursday night was complete. The fire has left nothing of this spacious and magnificent building, but the bare walls, which stand as a



disgraceful monument of the triumph of mobism over good order and the laws. The neighbouring houses are somewhat scorched, but suffered no material injury, as the fire companies were permitted to play upon them, and deserve great credit for the effective manner in which their duty was performed.

"The hall itself, which was situated on the west side of Sixth near Race Street, was erected by the Abolition Society, and was not finished until last week. It was very large, built in the most substantial and costly manner, and the grand saloon for the purpose of meetings, was, we believe, the most spacious and elegant room of the kind in Philadelphia, being 90 feet in length by about 60 in breadth, with galleries, &c., the whole being capable of allowing from 1,800 to 2,000 persons to be comfortably seated, and of containing nearly 3,000 persons. There were besides, lecture-rooms and other apartments. The entire cost of the establishment, including, we presume, the purchase of the ground, is estimated at 40,000 dollars. It was first opened to the public on Monday last, and we are informed that meetings were held and addresses delivered in it, every day and evening up to the time of the catastrophe.

"The first tumultuous proceeding in reference to the matter, took place on Wednesday evening, when a meeting was held, composed chiefly of women, at which Garrison, Mrs. M. Chapman, of Boston, Mrs. Angelina Grimké Weld, Lucretia Mott, and Abdy Kelly, delivered addresses. The audience was very numerous, and composed of blacks and whites indiscriminately mingled. A mob assembled on the outside, and continued throwing stones at the windows until a late hour. When the meeting broke up, some of the negroes were assaulted as they came out, and the rest were enabled to escape through the back entrances. Loud intimations were given at this time that a more serious disturbance was in contemplation, and that the destruction of the building was resolved on.

"On Thursday much excitement prevailed throughout the city, and every variety of rumour was in circulation; but the abolitionists held their usual meetings. In the afternoon, the crowd began to assemble, rapidly increasing in numbers as night approached, and at dark the assemblage in the neighbourhood was very great.

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It is stated in the papers that the mayor was on the ground at an early hour, and, after addressing the by-standers, closed the hall and retired, it being determined that no lecture should be given that night.

" Soon after eight o'clock the tumult commenced. Stones were thrown at the windows, and the doors and windows of the stores in the basement story, only one of which was occupied, and that as a repository for abolition tracts, books, and papers, were beaten in. An attack was also made upon the entrances to the hall, which being stout, were battered at with various instruments for a long time before they yielded. Every crash was received with cheers and plaudits from a number of the by-standers, though the active rioters were by no means numerous, nor apparently very determined, for they commenced the work of destruction hesitatingly, and did not go on boldly until the gas lamp was extinguished which shone upon them, and till they obtained confidence by seeing that no police officers were on the ground, and no impediment would be offered by those in authority to their lawless proceedings—an impunity as unexpected as it was disgraceful in the heart of a populous city, and at an early hour in the evening. Having the game thus completely in their own hands, books and papers were tossed into the air, and a few persons entered the hall. Hints about fire were now bandied about, and in a little while lights were seen gleaming from the windows. Some difficulty seemed to be experienced in kindling the flames. One man was observed using splinters of the window blinds for the purpose. Fire, however, was communicated in various quarters, but it progressed slowly,—the occasional flashes being greeted by shouts. Finally, however, the flames seized upon the wood-work, and in a very short time the whole edifice was a sheet of fire, illuminating the city far and wide with a brilliance equal to that of noon-day. Such a conflagration has not been witnessed in Philadelphia for years, and we trust that many more will elapse before the occurrence of another. The whole population of the city seemed now to throng to the ground, and the rioters having attained their object, remained quiet.

" Such are the particulars of this high-handed and abominable outrage, which has inflicted a stain of the deepest character upon our city, reducing us to a level, in point of reputation, with the

most lawless sections of the Union, and teaching us to be surprised at nothing that passion and madness may see fit hereafter to undertake."

It is known that the mayor was, in his opinions, greatly opposed to the views of the abolitionists, and this may have caused his conduct to be suspected and misrepresented by those entertaining their views; yet, from all I could learn, he appears to have done his own duty as faithfully as his official means would enable him to perform it, but he was unsupported by that portion of the populace who crowded to the spot.

On Friday the 20th, the day on which this statement appeared in the papers, the excitement in the streets was at its highest: groups of persons of all classes were to be seen conferring together in great earnestness, and all appeared to expect something more terrible than had yet occurred. It was said, among other rumours, that the black population of Philadelphia were armed, and ready for a rising: but this was soon found to be utterly without foundation; neither their numbers, nor their disposition warranting the slightest hope of any success in their object, even should they be so misled as to resort to this step—nor, after a very vigilant search, were arms found in the dwellings, or on the persons, of any of them.

In the evening of this day, however, a party of the same lawless incendiaries, who had burnt down the Hall, repaired to the school for free-coloured children, in 13th street, a considerable distance from the Hall, and set it on fire. The alarm-bell being rung to indicate this, the whole population were in motion, not knowing what might happen next: but

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the firemen promptly hastening to the spot, and on this occasion putting forth their energies without restraint, the fire was soon subdued, and the crowd dispersed.

On the same evening, a party of these anti-abolitionists went to the house of one of the most eminent lawyers of Philadelphia, who had taken a part in the proceedings of opening the Hall, Mr. David Paul Brown, and demanded his appearance before them. The doors being bolted below, the wife of this gentleman appeared at the window, and inquired their object, when they reiterated their demand to see her husband. Fortunately for both, he had that day gone into the country, so that she could state this with perfect truth. They were greatly disappointed, and with difficulty prevailed on to retire ; but before they went, they avowed their intention to have tarred and feathered Mr. Brown, if they had got him into their possession, for the part he took in advocating the cause of the abolitionists.

This fact was not made public in any of the journals, from a desire, probably, not to increase the danger to Mr. Brown's life, by the mention of the fact at the time the excitement was at its height : but I was assured of its truth by a gentleman, who knew the circumstances of the case personally. The following particulars of further attempts at outrage on Saturday evening are from the National Gazette of Monday the 21st.

"On Saturday evening a mob gathered in Sassafras Alley, and commenced an assault on the house of a coloured family, by breaking in the doors and windows, and scattering the furniture in the street. The family, it is believed, escaped without personal injury."

"The same evening great excitement was produced by the circumstance of an assault, made by a coloured on a white man, in the neighbourhood of Lombard and Sixth Streets. Colonel Watumough, the Sheriff, assisted by a police force, was successful in preventing any serious disturbance."

This pretended assault was afterwards ascertained to be the attack of a white man on a black ; and the remonstrance and attempt at defence of the latter : so that no single act occurred, by which the negroes could be reproached with having taken the slightest steps to provoke the hostility, or to resist the measures pursued towards their advocates.

The whole affair was the most unjustifiable assumption, on the part of a small body of whites, of a power to deny to others, equally lawful citizens with themselves, the right of freely and publicly discussing a subject which they deemed important, and on which they desired to proclaim their opinions to the world. And the controversy being conducted by one party appealing to reason, and using the tongue, the pen, and the press ; and the other party appealing to force, and using the torch, the axe, and the crow-bar ; it is not difficult to determine which were the innocent, and which the guilty.

The actual operators in this work of destruction were said to be a few shipwrights from the river, who brought with them, axes, crow-bars, and other instruments for breaking open doors and windows, billets of dry wood and shavings, with tar, turpentine, and other combustible materials ; and these were aided and cheered on by the most dissolute of the white population in the crowd ; while the firemen, and the members of the hose companies, who play the

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engines and supply the water, undoubtedly assisted in the work of destruction, inasmuch as they refused to use their engines or pour water on the great Hall while in flames ; and they were, therefore, accessory to its destruction. So completely had the mob been permitted to carry all before them, that even on Sunday, a day more scrupulously respected by all races and colours in America, than in any other country on the globe, a large crowd assembled round the African church in Sixth Street ; and but for the remonstrances of those who were additionally shocked at any attempted violence on the sabbath, this church might have shared the fate of the Hall.

As some symptom, either of shame, or repentance, or both, a public meeting was held by the firemen in Independence Square, on the evening of Saturday the 19th, when they passed resolutions declaratory of their determination, in all future cases, to use their best efforts to extinguish all fires, whether created by accident, or by the hands of the incendiary : but though this declaration, and the expressions of the public journals, may be taken as a homage to justice, whether willingly or unwillingly paid, it is beyond doubt, that in what is called the "best society" of Philadelphia, that is, among the more wealthy classes, the feeling of indignation was directed wholly against the abolitionists, and few scrupled openly to commend the spirit of the populace, to speak of the burning of the hall and the school as a "glorious triumph," while some added a regret that the abolitionists themselves were not buried in the ruins ! With persons who entertained such feelings as these, it was of course in vain to reason ; they were wholly inaccessible to argument, and so excited, females as well as males,

that it was almost dangerous to be heard to express even a regret that the outrage had been committed.

In the mean time no immediate steps were taken by the public authorities, to find out or apprehend the ring-leaders—no reward was promptly offered by the City or State authorities, for the apprehension of the offenders—no pains were taken, in short, to vindicate the laws, and punish its violaters; by which the rulers of the city placed themselves in the same position of tacit accessories, as the firemen did, who, with engines in their hands, refused to use them to extinguish the conflagration. This is only to be accounted for by the fact, that the opinion of the gentry, or most influential class of citizens in Philadelphia, was in favour of such non-interference: and the mayor finding their disposition on this subject to run in the same channel with his own, was content to let the matter sleep undisturbed, until the excitement was over.

This deference to public prejudice, rather than maintaining the dignity of the law, will, no doubt, on reflection, be deeply repented of, even by those who, for momentary peace, have sacrificed great principles of public duty; and that this has indeed already begun to take place in some minds, may be inferred from the very sensible observations which appeared in the *National Gazette* on the evening of Monday the 21st, when the riots were at an end, and when a few days only of time had allowed reason and reflection to reassume their sway. This is its editorial article.

“One night of riot takes away a city’s reputation for three hundred and sixty-five of repose and security. Riots in this country, though growing out of local and transient causes, are viewed and

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employed abroad, as the strongest argument against our form of government.

"It is of no avail that we, in our turn, can retort with what we deem entire effect, by saying, that the Peninsula of Spain presents more violence, bloodshed, and cruelty, in a single campaign, than the Union during its whole history;—that in despotic countries, popular commotion is an affair of ordinary occurrence;—that the life of the French monarch is attempted periodically;—and that in Great Britain illegal combinations and tumults are constantly occurring. These all are overlooked in hunting up, and presenting, with supercilious acrimony, our lapses from a state of absolute immunity from all such outrage. In one sense, it is a tacit acknowledgment that personal security and the rights of property ought to be better respected and enforced under a democratic form of government than under any other, but that balance of the argument goes for nothing against the practical force of the other set forth. The Parisian, secure in going to the opera and eating-house, by virtue of a hundred thousand bayonets, will thank Heaven that his lot is not cast in such a barbarous spot as Philadelphia, which (except in a few instances) has been kept in order by the show of a few batons.

"These considerations should be ever held by the sentient portion of the community; and they never should, under any circumstances whatever, suspend, either by opinion, apathy, or indiscreet conduct of any kind, the force of the grand precept, that 'under all circumstances, and at every cost, the supremacy of the laws must be maintained.' This precept carries with it the provision that adequate means must be taken to maintain them."

I cordially agree with this writer, in all the opinions he has here uttered; and although no language could be too strong to express my entire reprobation of the conduct of the incendiaries, and the apathy or indifference of the public authorities; yet it is impossible not to admit, that the very circumstance of a population of 200,000 persons living in perfect security of person and property, (except only in cases where this question of slavery is agitated,) and this with the full knowledge of the fact that the

civil authorities are weak, the police insufficient, and that there is really no military force to call in—is conclusive evidence of a general sufficiency of sustenance, contentment of condition, and an absence of that constant temptation to commit excesses, which springs out of the poverty, or recklessness, or sense of wrong, in the labouring masses of England, Scotland, Ireland, and France.

After a period of several days, the public authorities began to move; and an announcement was made by the mayor, offering a reward of 2,000 dollars for the discovery of the incendiaries. On the day after this, a proclamation was issued by the governor of the State, strongly condemning the conduct of the incendiaries, and offering a further reward of 500 dollars for their apprehension.

Notwithstanding these public and official denunciations of the rioters, there were not wanting persons who persisted in upholding the conduct of the incendiaries: and who boasted, that however often the Hall should be rebuilt—for, by a recent law, the city and county funds are made answerable for damages done by rioters—it would be burnt down again, and each successive time with renewed vigour. One of the most independent of the newspapers, the Public Ledger, having been the first, as well as the boldest in its condemnation of the lawless conduct of the mob, the rioters assembled in front of the Ledger Office, and, had it not been for the ample preparations made to repel them, by the spirited and resolute editor and proprietors, there was every probability that it would have been speedily demolished. The following article, from the Public Ledger of May 24, refers to this.

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"We wish our readers to understand distinctly, that, while we shall continue, as we began, to abstain from interference with the subjects of slavery, partisan politics, or sectarian religion, we shall ever contend for the supremacy of the laws, and oppose all attempts to restrain the liberty of speech or the press. Unless the laws reign, no security for person or property can be found; and unless the great natural and constitutional right of free discussion be maintained, all rational liberty must perish.

"During the recent excitement, we studiously refrained from mentioning that we should not interfere with the subject of slavery. Knowing that we were currently charged with being abolitionists, and perceiving that the mob had selected our office for destruction under that supposition, we were resolved to utter no disclaimer upon the subject, while any disorderly spirit prevailed. To deny that we were abolitionists while a mob was around our doors, denouncing vengeance against us, because it believed us to be such, would have borne the appearance of deprecating its wrath. We have never yet been awed by the lawless, and trust that we never shall be; and instead of treating with them, when assembled in force, or attempting to appease their anger, we shall never fail to invoke against them the penalties of the law, and to meet them with forcible resistance."

As every succeeding day strengthened the cause of those who had been so unjustly persecuted, and weakened that of the persecutors, so every day produced some new proof of that growing strength. The first was the arrest of one of the incendiaries, who, as will be seen, was a member of a "highly respectable" family—for the anti-abolition riots are almost always fomented and encouraged by persons of this class, whose pecuniary interests, or those of their connections, either are, or are believed to be, in danger from giving freedom to the slave; and whose prejudices therefore on this subject are the hottest, fiercest, and most ungovernable. The following is

the paragraph, in which the announcement of this arrest was made in the newspapers.

"We learn that a man, who is represented to be of a highly respectable family, was arrested on Tuesday, and taken before Alderman Binns, charged with having been concerned in the recent destruction of Pennsylvania Hall. Mr. Shotwell appeared as the principal witness, and testified that he was in the hall on the night of the conflagration, and saw the prisoner busily engaged in tearing down the blinds, and inciting others to the destruction of the building. He has known the prisoner for eight or ten years, and is positive as to the individual; who was bound over in the sum of 3,000 dollars for his appearance before the Alderman, on Friday, at 12 o'clock."

The day following this, a letter appeared in the leading journals, from the eminent barrister, Mr. David Paul Brown, which excited, among his friends, considerable apprehension for his personal safety; and which, from the boldness of its tone at such a moment, and the force of its reasoning, was admired even by those who deprecated his conduct. The letter is so characteristic, as to be worth transcribing, in some of its principal passages:—

"TO THE PUBLIC.

"I am a member and an advocate of the Abolition Society, and shall continue so to be, in despite of *mobs*. I am a firm friend of rational liberty, and am not to be awed into its abandonment by licentiousness or vice. I shall not quarrel with those who differ with me upon these subjects: they may *freely* enjoy their opinion, —I shall *boldly* maintain mine. I am unwilling to enter into any thing like self-vindication, where there is actually no offence, and am above all attempts to propitiate the *turbulent* and *refractory*, by renouncing sentiments which I solemnly and sacredly entertain. So much for my faith, and the principles by which I am governed—

'If I for my opinions suffer wrong,  
Opinion shall be surgeon to my hurt.'

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"It is understood, that one of the charges preferred against me (got up, no doubt, by some designing knave, to whom, professionally, I have rendered *service*, either by an *acquittal* or *conviction*,) is, that of having avowed myself to be the friend of amalgamation. Every one who heard my speech at the dedication of Pennsylvania Hall, knows this to be untrue—and to those who did not *hear* it, I proclaim it to be false. I am adverse to amalgamation, and to the *practical* friend of amalgamation.

"The other opinion expressed, is one having regard to immediate emancipation, and upon this subject the views entertained by me are thus expressed—'I confess, with all my devotion to the great cause of human freedom, still if it were left with me to strike off the chains of slavery instantly and with a single blow, I should hesitate before that blow was struck—hesitate not for myself—not for the safety or security of the government—not for the probable effects of the measure upon society or upon the slave States—for in none of these relations could it prove dangerous—but for the slaves themselves. They are not, in a mass, morally or intellectually in a condition qualifying them for so sudden and important a change. The flood of light that would pour in upon them, would prove too powerful for their long-benighted vision—or, in other words, they might surfeit in the excess of joy.'

"I have had occasion to say, formerly, and I repeat it now, that the violence manifested by the adversaries of abolition, is to be ascribed to the turbulent spirit of the times, which seeks a vent upon every possible opportunity, and which will, ere long, be found to glut itself upon the very individuals by whom it is apparently fostered and encouraged.

"I have thought proper to make this exposition, not to conciliate my adversaries, but to satisfy my friends, *as I desire to retain both*. I recant nothing that I have said—I deplore nothing that I have done—my property is under the protection of the law—and however *imperfect* that protection, there I leave it—of my family and personal sanctity I am the guardian, and will never permit either to be violated with impunity.

"DAVID PAUL BROWN."

The effect produced upon the public mind by this letter was in every way salutary, and showed the value

and importance of men being faithful to their opinions at whatever hazard to their fortunes or their lives. Even the anti-abolitionists were compelled to pay homage to the moral courage it evinced; and the timid among the abolitionists took heart at this open defiance of all danger by one whose opinions they approved, and whose heroism they admired. People began, accordingly, to speak more freely in reprehension of the conduct of the rioters; the public sympathy began to be moved in favour of the sufferers; and even the press assumed a higher tone, as will be seen by the last article I shall quote, from the democratic paper, the *Pennsylvanian*.

"Laws are enacted not only to be obeyed when it is agreeable to do so, for then the end would be attained without them, but for the purpose of controlling our impulses, and for securing the ultimate good of all by occasional sacrifices of individual will. The general result is that which is contemplated by enlightened legislation, and its protection is extended alike to the good and the bad, to the wise and the foolish, and, above all, to the minority as well as to the majority. To say, therefore, that there are cases in a country governed like this, in which the laws may be suspended, is to break down every barrier upon which the citizen relies for safety, and to return once more to the practice of barbarous ages. A new arbiter of his fate is introduced, and both life and property are made dependent upon the will of those who possess the physical power at the moment. It is, therefore, far better that multitudes of evils should be tolerated, than that a single blow should be thus given at the very framework of our social fabric. It is destructive of the vital principle of republicanism, as it exists among us; and upon mere selfish considerations, if there were no other, it should be sternly and unflinchingly opposed. If the restraints of law, and of the dictates of toleration, are thrown off to-day for the purpose of intimidating the ultra-abolitionists and amalgamationists, there is no earthly reason why it may not be proclaimed to-morrow, that certain party prin-

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ciples are offensive to public opinion—that the printing offices which publish them must be burnt, and that the leaders of party who espouse them must be sacrificed to appease a ‘just indignation.’”

From the intercourse I enjoyed with a very extensive circle of society in Philadelphia, I believe this article expresses the sentiments of nine-tenths of its inhabitants; and it would be therefore most unjust to consider the riotous and incendiary conduct of a mob formed of, at the most, 500 persons, and of these not more than 100 taking any active part in the proceedings, as characteristic of the general state of society in a city that numbers 200,000 residents. The mobs of London in Lord George Gordon's riots, and of Birmingham, when the church and king loyalists burnt down Dr. Priestley's house; or those of Bristol, who, but a few years since, set fire to that city, and plundered the houses during the conflagration—might as well be taken, by any American, as a fair sample of English society.

## CHAP. VI.

Benevolent institutions of Philadelphia—School for the instruction of the blind—Munificent bequest of an Englishman—Description of the institution and pupil—Proficiency in geography and music—Publication of the Blind Student's Magazine—Effects produced by this excellent work—Remarkable improvement of an idiot—Specimens of composition by the blind—Asylum for the deaf and dumb—Curious experiments in animal magnetism—Utility of the discoveries growing out of it—Production of certain dreams by magnetic influence—Dramatic effects on the mind of a dumb boy—Equally remarkable influence on young girls—Entire change of character in the conduct of one—Insensibility to pain during the magnetic sleep—Remarkable instance of nervous insensibility—Surgical operation performed without pain—Application of animal magnetism to surgery—New almshouse of Philadelphia—Beautiful situation of the building—Extent and completeness of the establishment—Statistics of the poor and lunatics—Cost of the institution and annual expense—Marine hospital for seamen—Plan and arrangement of the marine hospital—Seamen of England and America—Injustice done to the former by taxation—Superior benefits enjoyed by the latter—Comparison with Greenwich hospital—Distaste of sailors for inland situations.

THE most interesting, and perhaps the most characteristic feature of Philadelphia, is its benevolent institutions; and in these, more than in anything else, are to be seen the spirit of its first founder, silently prolonging its influence over the conduct and character of his descendants, by providing asylums suited to the relief of almost every misfortune by which the wretched can be afflicted.

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The first of these that we visited, was the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind; where we had the pleasure to be attended by the amiable superintendent of the establishment, Mr. Friedlander, and to be accompanied by him over every part of it. It is now about five years since this institution was first projected by a few benevolent individuals in Philadelphia, who desired to provide an asylum for those unfortunates who are deprived of sight; and to make it a home of happiness, as well as comfort, by instructing its inmates in arts and occupations from which they could earn their own subsistence, and be useful to others as well as to themselves. For this purpose, they sent to Germany, to obtain the services of some person qualified to superintend such an institution, and Mr. Friedlander, a young but intelligent and enthusiastic philanthropist, came over to Philadelphia for that purpose.

He began his operations with four pupils only; but the progress made with these was so striking as to awaken a general interest throughout the community in favour of the undertaking; and this once roused, the means of augmentation flowed in apace. An application was made to the State legislature for a grant, to build a suitable edifice; and the answer was, that the State would grant 10,000 dollars for that purpose, provided 20,000 dollars could be raised for the same object by the community. The experiment was tried, and soon after it was commenced, the sum of 26,000 dollars was raised; and a fund thus at once formed, beyond the expectations of the most sanguine.



With this, a suitable spot of land was purchased in Arch Street, not far from the Schuylkill river, and a neat and commodious building erected thereon; the area occupied by the house and grounds being 247 feet in front by 220 in depth, including gardens, grass-plats, and play-grounds for the pupils; while the interior of the building possesses every requisite accommodation for the instruction, subsistence, and lodging of as many as 200 inmates.

During the five years that have elapsed since its first foundation, the institution has grown steadily in public favour, and received a proportionately increased public aid; till, in the past year, 1837, a most munificent addition was made to its funds, by the bequest of one of its most active patrons, William Young Birch, who, at his death, left the whole of his property, valued at 150,000 dollars, as a perpetual endowment for the support of this Institution. Mr. Birch was a native of Manchester, in England, at which place he was born on the 9th of November, 1764. He resided at Birmingham during the time of the riots by which the house of Dr. Priestley was destroyed; and being one of his religious followers, as a Unitarian, he took so prominent a part in defending the person and property of his friend and pastor, that he found it prudent to leave England for America. He settled in Philadelphia, and pursued the business of a bookseller, in which, during forty years of industrious and honourable exertion, he amassed a handsome fortune; and while his whole life was characterized by active efforts in favour of philanthropic and charitable objects, his death was honoured by the munificent

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bequest of all his earnings to the Institut. for the Instruction of the Blind.

The number of pupils at present in the institution is fifty ; of whom, thirty-nine are from Pennsylvania, four from New Jersey, three from Delaware, two from Maryland, one from Virginia, and one from South Carolina ; and of the whole number, thirty are males and twenty females ; the youngest being about ten years of age, and the oldest eighteen, each sex being superintended by its respective teachers.

The branches of learning now taught in the institution embrace reading, writing, English grammar, the German language, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, geography, natural philosophy, history, and music. In all these we had an opportunity of witnessing the proficiency to which the blind may attain, by the use of the apparatus adapted to their condition, and by the zealous and judicious superintendence of competent teachers. They are taught to read and spell, as well as to calculate figures, by raised types and moveable blocks, on which the sense of touch supplies the sense of sight. They learn to write by imitating raised characters prepared for them to copy. Geometry is taught by raised diagrams and figures ; and geography by globes and maps prepared with raised surfaces for land, and flat surfaces for sea, with slight depressions for rivers, and gradual elevations for hills and mountains. Music is taught in the same manner, by raised bars and notes, which are felt by the pupils, by repeatedly passing the fingers over them, bar after bar, till the whole is deeply imprinted on the memory, and then the passages are practised on the instrument. Natural philosophy, history, and lan-

guages, are of course taught orally, and committed to memory as acquired.

The mere occupation of learning any of these, is a source of such extreme delight to the students while so engaged, that if it ended only here, it would be an invaluable blessing; but the gradual expansion of the mind evidently affects the physical health and moral character beneficially, besides laying up stores of the highest enjoyment for future years. The pleasure they take in music is such as to make it the favourite occupation of nearly all the pupils; and already they have in use among them, one organ, six pianos, one harpsichord, three harps, nine violins, two violin-cellos, one double bass, three flutes, one hautboy, one bassoon, three French horns, one trumpet, one trombone, and one pair of kettle-drums. This enables the pupils to pass many happy hours among themselves in the institution, and also to give concerts occasionally to the public, by which the pleasures of others are promoted; and confident expectation is entertained that, before long, excellent teachers of music, will be reared from the blind pupils, and organists furnished for churches and places of worship.

Handicraft occupations are at the same time taught with great care. A new range of buildings has been recently erected, 140 feet in length, comprising two stories, the lower part of which is used as a ropewalk, for making twine and cordage of different kinds; and the upper part of it is divided into workshops, in which different trades are carried on. We saw some of the pupils at work, making brushes of various kinds; others making shoes, baskets, mats, mattresses, and various articles of turnery, all

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of them surprisingly well executed, as productions of the blind.

The female pupils are instructed in sewing, and fancy-work of various kinds; and they thread their needles, and perform their work, with almost as much dexterity as if they could see, appearing also to be as happy as possible at their labours.

A printing-press, with a suitable supply of the types used expressly for printing books for the blind, which indent the paper deeply on one side without ink, so as to leave a raised or embossed character on the other side, has been lately provided for the Institution; and with this, a monthly periodical, written and printed by the pupils, is prepared and issued, under the title of "The Students' Magazine." We were presented with the first four numbers of this excellent and interesting work, which is highly creditable to its authors, and cannot fail to be of the greatest benefit to the Institution. The objects contemplated by its publication are these. 1. To provide the pupils with new reading, made up of extracts from such works as would be too expensive to print entire. 2. The more rapid advancement of the pupils in composition, from a public exhibition of their talents in this way. 3. To awaken the interest and excite the attention of the public, in behalf of this interesting class of their fellow-beings. 4. The presenting to the blind, who may be scattered over the rest of the country, and who, for various reasons, may never enter a public institution, a means of communication between themselves and others subject to the same privation of sight, of which there will always be many. A striking

proof of its utility, in this last respect, has already occurred. A copy of the magazine was sent by one of the pupils in the Institution to a blind lady in the State of Pennsylvania, who, in her correspondence with the pupils in question, thus refers to it :—

“Jan. 18, 1838.—When informed that you had passed through our village, I anxiously awaited your return, laid all my plans for detaining you, and anticipated the pleasant hours we should spend together; nothing could have reconciled me to the disappointment, but the knowledge of your being pleasantly situated where you are. I have never had the melancholy pleasure of meeting with any female friend in my own situation, and never with any one deprived of sight from childhood; I think we certainly should have some feelings in common, and find sympathy that we could find no where else. Is it not so?

“I should like to ask you an hundred questions. How you succeed in reading, and what studies you are most interested in? Do you take music lessons? Every thing relating to the Institution is very interesting to me; and I was really delighted, when it was mentioned to me some weeks since, that there was an expectation of issuing a paper from among you, but I fear the attempt has failed. If you could, without inconvenience, return me a few lines printed, (for it would add much to the pleasure of receiving them, if I should be able to read them myself,) you will greatly oblige me.”

“Feb. 1st. P.S. This letter was written as dated, but I hesitated to send it. Until within three days the ‘Student’s Magazine’ was handed to me. I have not learned how it came to the village; it was lent me to read; I should think it could come in the mail without injury, and as I wish to subscribe for it, I send the enclosed note to Mr. Friedlander; and you, who have many studies to interest you, can never imagine how anxiously I shall await its coming, nor the delight with which I welcome it. When I received this one, I felt a childish selfishness, and wished that no one should see it until I had learned its contents; and they had to wait a while, as I was not much accustomed to the capital letters; but I shall have another long letter, if I do not haste to bid you farewell.”

Among the pupils with whom we conversed, was one remarkable youth, of whom the following account is given in the printed report of the Institution.

"JOHN BURRIS, was found in the suburbs of the city, in circumstances of great want and wretchedness, almost a Caspar Hauser, depending for a scanty subsistence upon the feeble exertions of an aged relative. He was brought to the notice of the President of our Institution, who admitted him. When first admitted, he could not stand upright, nor walk without assistance. His utterance was incoherent and unintelligible; and he appeared to understand no questions save such as related to dates; but in reply to these, he could almost instantly name the day of the week, of any day of the year, and state the changes of the moon with great precision. Beyond this, his mind seemed to wander in darkness. 'There is no end of figures! Is there?' was his constant exclamation, and answer to almost every question addressed to him. His case seeming hopeless, an order was passed for his dismissal; but at the request of Mr. Vaughan, he was retained until the return of Mr. Friedlander. In the mean while, he learned the use of his limbs, and could walk alone, eat without assistance, and utter himself more coherently. At this present time, he attends to reading, grammar, arithmetic, and geography, in all which, as Mr. Friedlander remarks, 'he is indisputably improving.'"

We found this youth in the rope-walk, assisting another pupil in the making of twine; and in our conversation with him, we witnessed the extraordinary faculty which he possessed of calculating numbers, and naming particular days and periods, from given data, however remote, and whether past or present. Of astronomy he had as accurate a knowledge as most boys of his age not subject to any infirmity he was, in short, an instance of a brute wrought into a human being, by care, kindness, and education.

Among the specimens of the original compositions of some of the pupils of the Institution, two short

sentences, and a letter, will be sufficient to show that thoughts as well as words, are at their command.

One of the pupils, William Churchman, writes, "There is this difference between happiness and wisdom:—he who thinks himself the happiest man, really is so; but he that thinks himself the wisest, is generally the greatest fool."

Another pupil writes, "Truth is the basis of every virtue. The Scriptures teach us the best way of living, the noblest way of suffering, and the most comfortable way of dying."

The following is the letter of another of the pupils referred to:—

"Mr. S.—

"Feb. 15, 1838.

"I think time has got new wings, at least she flies remarkably swift, for the day on which I am accustomed to write has arrived, and found me in a very dull mood. I have nothing particularly concerning ourselves to say. The winter, so far, has been very mild, though cold enough for me, and nothing but the dinner-bell can induce me to leave my best friend, the *stove*.

"The Germans are doing wonders; they now make wooden violin-players;—but never mind, our forests can dance to anything they play, besides sustain any character you choose.

"This is very troublesome work; I think I shall get myself an automaton amanuensis, which will write to you, whilst I attend to my own business.

"Some say you think hard of me for writing in this style; in this you may use your pleasure. I write for you to read, and if you read more than I write, you need not charge it to me.

"E. WHEELAN."

Such are the results already produced by this excellent Institution, during the first five years of its existence; and but for its aid, it is more than probable that the majority of the fifty pupils, now made

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useful and happy under its roof, would have been miserable to themselves, and a burden to others. Its ample means, and constantly increasing popularity, cannot fail to enlarge the sphere of its utility; and with so excellent a director as Mr. Friedlander has proved himself to be, there is no limit to the amount of happiness it may produce.

The Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb is a kindred Institution, which provides comfortably for the unfortunate class of beings who are deprived of speech and hearing; and instructs them as usefully and as agreeably, as the blind are taught at their exclusive establishment. The Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb is situated in Broad Street, in a fine open and airy space. The building is neat and commodious, and all its internal arrangements are well adapted to the wants of the pupils. It was first established in 1821, with a grant from the State of 8,000 dollars, as a building fund, and a further annual grant of 160 dollars for each indigent deaf and dumb child that it might receive, subsist, and educate. The scale of the establishment is not so large as that at New York; but the mode of instruction is the same, and the accommodations for the pupils equally good.

During our visit to this Institution, we witnessed some curious experiments in animal magnetism, tried on some of the pupils—one a lad of about sixteen years of age, and two young girls of ten and twelve years each. The boy was put into a magnetic sleep, by being made to recline in a chair; and by the operator placing his thumbs against the thumbs of the youth, pressing them gently, and looking him steadfastly in the face. When the boy was asleep, several of the



party were asked to pinch his flesh as hard as they thought proper, to see whether he would awake; but though some pressed their nails, so as to imbed them in his flesh, he never moved a muscle. A pin was then thrust through his flesh, making a complete hole in it, but to this he was as insensible as to all the rest.

Certain motions were then made by the operator over his head and face, without touching either, to produce in him a dream of horrors; when he soon began to tremble in every limb, and to utter indistinct sounds of terror. A slate was then put before him, and a slate pencil put in his hand, when he wrote, in an agitated manner, a broken sentence, saying he was attacked by wild Indians who were going to kill him. This led the operator to make various motions with his hands over different parts of his body, without touching them; all our eyes were directed to detect any collusion; our convictions were uniform, that the boy was profoundly asleep, and could not see anything that was doing by his natural sight.

The magnetic sympathy, or whatever else it may be termed, between the motions of the operator and the sensations of the sleeper, were, however, evident in every case. When the operator moved his hand around the sleeper's foot, and another put the slate before him, and placed the pencil in his hand, he wrote tremblingly the words "A monstrous grisly bear is gnawing off my foot. Oh! take him away—take him away!" the pencil dropping from his hand twice during the act of writing. When the operator passed his hand around his head in a circle, and the slate was again placed before him,

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he was even more agitated than before, and wrote "The Indians are taking my scalp; how shall I suffer it! oh! death."

The action of stabbing was made over the boy's heart, the hand, however, not being suffered to touch his person; and he struggled violently and made resistance, and gave signs by his countenance of excruciating pain, till at last he sunk down into a state of apparent torpor. Each of the spectators tried in turn to awaken him by the ordinary methods of pulling and pinching, but without the least effect. He seemed in a sleep of death. At length the operator tried the magnetic mode of awakening him, by waving the hands upwards near the face; and in about five minutes the boy awoke from his slumbers.

When he was quite recovered, he was asked, by the teacher, in signs, whether he had been dreaming, and he answered, No; whether he recollected any writing or other operation, and he answered, No; and when the slate was presented to him, on which the last sentence he had written still remained, his whole look bespoke the utmost astonishment. In the party who witnessed this exhibition, there were three physicians, one eminent chemist, three or four legal gentlemen, and the majority of the whole were prejudiced against the system of animal magnetism; yet all confessed their surprise at what they saw, and their conviction that there was no collusion between the parties.

The experiments tried on the girls were of a different nature. The eldest of them was placed in a magnetic sleep as she stood up, and with a very slight effort, on the part of another gentleman than the

first operator ; when she stood sleeping thus, the same experiments were tried as had been before used with the boy, to ascertain whether she were insensible to pain. She was pulled, pinched, scratched, and tortured in such a way, as, if her sleep had been of the ordinary kind, could not fail to have awakened her ; but all this made no more impression on her than on a statue of marble.

This girl was neither deaf nor dumb, and was not, therefore, one of the pupils, but belonged to some of the attendants on the establishment. She was then asked a variety of questions, to all of which she answered rationally ; she was shown a number of things—that is, they were held before her ; and though her eyes were perfectly closed, and her sleep the most profound, yet she described the names, properties, forms, and colours of the objects shown, as accurately as if she had been awake. A bandage was then put across her eyes, and so widely spread and tightly bound, as to render it impossible she should see, even if awake. In this state, other objects were held before her ; and her descriptions of them, in answer to questions asked, were as accurate as before.

The objects were then placed above her head, and behind her back, and interchanged with other objects ; and her perception of them, through the magnetic medium—or whatever other faculty it may be—was just as clear and accurate as ever ; at least her descriptions were as uniformly correct. She was again pinched, and pulled, and tortured with pins, to see if she were awake, but she was as insensible to pain as if she had been dead. All this astonished

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us exceedingly, but though we could not comprehend the cause of what we saw, there was no resisting the evidence of the facts.

The last experiment was on the youngest girl of the party, aged about ten. This little creature was one of the most timid beings that could be imagined. It was difficult even to get her to hold up her head so as to look the person addressing her in the face, or to get any reply to a question beyond a yes or no; though, like the former, she was not a mute, but belonged to the family of one of the attendants. She was almost instantaneously put into a magnetic sleep, as she was described to be of peculiar susceptibility to the magnetic influence. The most remarkable effect witnessed in her case, was a complete change of character. From being one of the most timid and hesitating, she became one of the boldest and most boisterous little creatures imaginable. She answered all questions put to her sharply, and often retorted wittily on the questioner. She then became herself the leading person of the party, and arranged all the gentlemen, one by one, on seats round the room, and instructed them in a juvenile game she wished us to play, and laughed and indulged her merriment exactly as if she were with persons of her own age, in the most genuine playfulness.

She was most severely pinched and tortured with pins, to see if she felt pain; but she remained as insensible to it as all the others; and no effort of any of the party to awaken her in the ordinary method succeeded. As soon, however, as the operator who had first put her to sleep in the magnetic mode, came to try his hand at awakening her, which he did without

touching her person, but merely by waving the hands upwards gently before her face, she awoke; and looking round with a vacant stare, was so abashed, that she hung down her little head, and scarcely a word could be got from her afterwards, except sufficient to assure us that, like the rest, she had no recollection whatever of anything that had passed in her sleep.

When the children were all removed from the room, and we began to interchange observations on the subject, it was clear that we were all equally astonished at what we had seen, and all entirely unable to offer even any rational conjecture as to the cause of it; not one, however, among the whole party expressed the least suspicion of any collusion, which, indeed, seemed to me to be impossible.

These few facts appeared to be proved beyond all doubt:—1. That the magnetic sleep is entirely different from the ordinary sleep. 2. That persons put to sleep by the magnetic process can only be awakened by the same process. 3. That there is a complete suspension of the susceptibility of pain during this singular state, though all the other senses remain in full vigour. 4. That there is no recollection, after awakening, of what transpired in the sleep, as there is in the case of ordinary dreams.

Dr. Mitchell, an eminent physician of the party, expressed his belief, that the single discovery, that the nerves of the touch are different from the nerves of pain, and that the latter may be deadened or suspended, while the former remain in full force and action—would probably lead to most beneficial results. He mentioned a case of a lady of his

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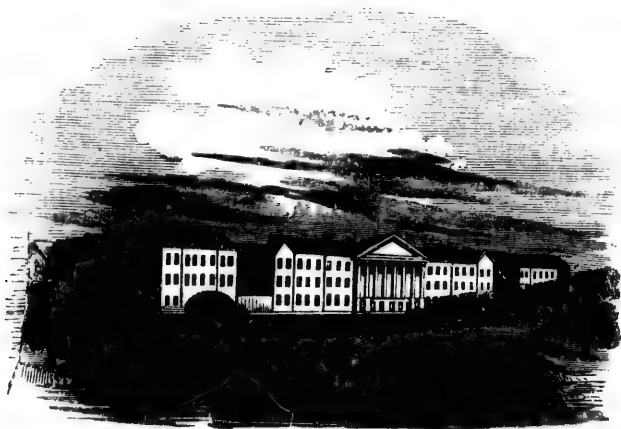
acquaintance, who had a decayed tooth, that affected her with intense agony, but which she had not the courage to have extracted. He told her, that if she would permit herself to be put into a magnetic sleep, it might be taken out without pain. She disbelieved this, and refused to try. Some days after, he proposed to put her into this sleep; but she refused, unless he would pledge his honour that he would not attempt to meddle with her tooth. He did so; she was content, and was placed in this condition without any remarkable occurrence.

A week or two after this, he again placed her in a magnetic sleep, but without any pledge or engagement being exacted. He then took the opportunity to extract the tooth. The lady was conscious of it, and signified her assent. His first effort was unsuccessful; but the lady felt no pain: he tried again—the tooth broke short, and still no pain was felt; but he had, by a severe process, to extract the broken stump from the gum—which, had the lady been awake, would, he thought, have been excruciating. She bore it all, however, without shrinking, and declared that she felt no pain, and was glad the tooth was out. All this conversation took place during the magnetic sleep. She was afterwards awakened by the magnetic process; and when perfectly recovered, was surprised and delighted to find her tormenting tooth gone; but declared that she had no recollection whatever of anything that had passed in connection with it, or of any thing, indeed, having occurred to her in her sleep.

It is true that there are very different degrees of susceptibility in different individuals, to this magnetic

influence—young persons being more susceptible than old, and females than males ; but if, wherever any such susceptibility exists, persons, about to be submitted to painful operations, can be first placed in a state of insensibility to pain, and then have the operation performed while in that condition, the amount of suffering which it would avert, might justly rank it among the greatest and most beneficial discoveries of later times.

One of the most beautifully situated and best arranged of all the benevolent Institutions of Philadelphia is the series of buildings called the New Alms House, for the reception of the destitute poor.



Its position is on a rising ground on the eastern bank of the Schuylkill river, of which it commands several beautiful views, while immediately before it the stream is continually diversified by the passage of small vessels and boats sailing up and down the river from Philadelphia. In short, if the position had been

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chosen for a splendid mansion and park, no selection could have been more appropriate; and at a distance, the whole establishment has this appearance, rather than of a charitable asylum.

The pile of buildings comprises four ranges, which are so placed as to form a perfect parallelogram, with an open space in the centre of the square, and the area covered by the whole is about ten acres. In addition to this, there are nearly two hundred acres of ground surrounding the institution, a portion of which is laid out in lawn and walks along the river front, another portion is devoted to gardens for supplying vegetables and fruit, and the rest is left in meadow or pasture land for the cattle of the establishment.

The principal front of the pile, faces towards the east, looking down on the Schuylkill river, and across it, towards the city of Philadelphia, from which it is separated by this stream. The front is composed of a centre, and two wings; the centre is ninety feet in length, and three stories in height, and presents a fine portico of eight pillars, surmounted by a pediment, reposing on a granite basement, the ascent to which is by a flight of twenty steps, so that the whole edifice possesses a commanding elevation. In this division are the rooms, of the superintendent, physician, steward, and guardians, their offices, with dining-room, kitchen, and two fire-proof rooms. On the ground floor is the dining-room for the male inmates of the institution, capable of accommodating 500 persons, and an extensive kitchen in which all the culinary operations are performed by steam.

The north and south wings of this front are appro-



priated to the use of the male paupers. They are three stories high, with five wards on a floor, containing 112 well ventilated dormitories, each for one bed only. Each ward is about 40 feet square, and in the centre of the whole there is an open space of about 24 feet, the use of which is common to the inmates of all the wards. The number of wards and dormitories is the same on each floor, and connected with each, there are spacious corridors 10 feet in width.

The western front is occupied as the Alms'-house, for the women, who are kept apart from the men; and in its general arrangement it resembles the former. At the north-western corner of the square is a building, occupied by the aged and blind among the females, and here also is the obstetric ward and the nursery; while in another portion of the edifice, in the upper story of the river front, are apartments for the more aged and infirm of the male paupers, who are taken every care of.

At the north-east corner of the square is the Asylum for the children, in which there are upwards of 150 of both sexes. In addition to the subsistence afforded to these, care is taken to furnish them with healthy recreation and proper instruction. For this purpose a large school-room is prepared, and teachers are employed who train them in good habits and good morals, as well as cultivate their understandings; and many of them being orphans, they are subsequently placed out by the Institution into situations, in which they are enabled to earn their own subsistence.

The north building is appropriated to manufacturing purposes, and is called "The House of Em-

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ployment." In this, the inmates are employed in the manufacture of woollen and cotton cloths, grinding flour, and performing such other works of handicraft as they are acquainted with, or can be taught. A steam-engine of 12-horse power propels machinery for various purposes ; and the whole forms a scene of healthy activity and industry.

The Hospital occupies another range of the buildings, the sexes being separated here as elsewhere ; and a separate portion being set aside for the insane, of whom there are upwards of a hundred. An excellent Dispensary, and an extensive Medical Library, as well as a lecture-room, capable of accommodating 800 persons form parts of this establishment ; and adjoining to the hospital is the principal garden, which affords agreeable walks for the invalids and convalescents.

In the centre of the square, formed by the buildings, is a spacious wash-house, with an elevated steeple, and an illuminated dial-clock. There is also a store, to which all the articles manufactured at the Institution are brought in to deposit, previous to their being issued from thence to the respective wards for which they may be required.

The whole cost of the erection of this building exceeded a million of dollars ; and its annual expense is about 150,000 dollars. The building fund and annual cost are both raised by a municipal tax on the city and liberties of Philadelphia, which amounted to about one per cent. on the assessment of real property for the former ; and about half per cent. on the rentals of dwellings for the latter. The number of inmates is about 2,000 in winter, and

1,500 in summer. including about 200 lunatics, and 150 children. In all, the males predominate over the females, in the proportion of about 9 to 6. The average cost of maintenance is about a dollar for each person per week.

We were taken over the establishment by the superintendent, and were permitted to examine every part of it; and although our visit was wholly unexpected and without notice, it filled us with admiration to see the cleanliness, order, and perfect condition of every department. The kitchen, with its steam apparatus, and utensils, was the most perfect that could be imagined—the floors were every where clean enough to be used as tables—the tin and pewter vessels were polished like mirrors—the bed and table linen exquisitely clean—the walls white as snow—the ventilation perfect; and in short, taking house, grounds, site, prospect, offices, and interior arrangement into consideration, it may with confidence be asserted, that a nobler Alms-House than this, is not to be found in the whole world.

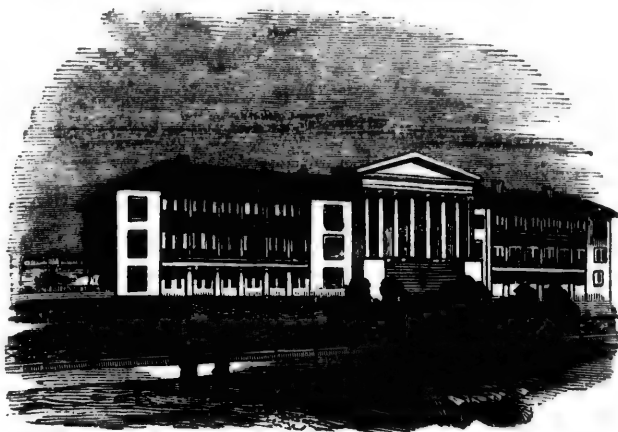
The Marine Hospital, is another of the benevolent institutions of Philadelphia well worthy of a visit by the stranger. It is not far from the Alms-House just described, but is seated in the east side of the Schuylkill, while the former is on the west. It has a finely elevated position, being 50 feet above high-water mark, which, in the general level of the surrounding tract, is sufficient to ensure it a commanding prospect and fine air.

In England there being but one metropolis, and the great Naval Asylum of Greenwich Hospital, being planted there, every thing belonging to it

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is on a scale of corresponding magnitude. But in America, where every separate State has its own metropolis, institutions of this description exist in every great sea-port, and consequently from being more numerous, they are each on a smaller scale.



The Marine Hospital at Philadelphia, or the United States Naval Asylum, as it is more generally called, is nevertheless a building of considerable size, and ample accommodation. It stands on a fine open piece of ground, surrounded with lawn, and presents a front to the east, of 386 feet in length, which includes a centre building and two wings. The centre building is 142 feet in length by 175 in depth. It has a fine Ionic portico of eight marble columns, surmounted with a pediment; and the ascent to the portico being by a flight of marble steps, the whole has an imposing aspect. The plan of the

building was designed by the City architect, Mr. Strickland, and the details are said to be from an Ionic temple on the Ilyssus near Athens.

The two wings have a basement of granite, above which are three stories, all of fine white marble, like the portico and steps; along the front of these wings run three verandahs, one to each story, which are supported by 88 iron pillars, resting on granite piers, with an iron railing or breast-work, strikingly resembling the quarter-deck nettings in a ship of war, but whether the resemblance was accidental or intentional, I could not learn.

In the basement of the centre-building is a dining-room 113 feet long, and the general kitchen of the establishment, with a furnace, from whence flues proceed for heating the whole building. From this story the communication to all the upper ones is by geometrical staircases of marble. In the first floor of this central building are, on the front, eight parlours for offices, and in the rear a chapel 56 feet square, lighted from the dome. On either side of these are the Dispensary, surgeons' and apothecaries' departments, and baths. In the third story are the sleeping-rooms of the officers, and a separate department for the insane.

In the wings are the general dormitories, of which there are 180 in number; these capable of accommodating 400 persons; and being all vaulted, they are spacious and airy, as well as substantial and secure.

The whole edifice is built of fine white Pennsylvania marble, and cost 250,000 dollars in its erection; the funds for which were furnished by the general

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government. The custom of receiving, from all the seamen of the Union, the contribution of twenty cents per month, for the support of such institutions, exists here, as it does in England, where sixpence per month hospital-money has been received from mercantile seamen for years past, for a similar purpose. There is this essential difference, however, that the merchant seamen of England, who pay their sixpence per month to the support of Greenwich Hospital, are not eligible to the enjoyment of its advantages when they grow old and are worn out, as that establishment receives only the seamen of the royal navy; whereas in America, as all contribute, so all are eligible to enjoy the benefits for which they pay. Accordingly, the worn-out seamen of the American merchant-ship can enter this Asylum as freely as the veteran of the ship of war; and as, in a national point of view, the seamen who conduct the commerce of a country are as much entitled to support and protection in their old age, as the seamen who fight its battles, it is but justice that both should be put on the same footing, especially when both contribute towards the same fund.

From the rear, or western front of this Asylum, the view is extensive and beautiful, embracing the winding of the Schuylkill, the water-works of Fairmount, the Alms-house on the opposite bank of the river, the State Penitentiary, and Girard College, while the moving scenery of the small-craft and boats perpetually passing up and down the stream add greatly to the interest of the scene.

Notwithstanding this, the Institution is not so much resorted to by sailors, as those of Norfolk, Staten

Island and Boston: because on these, the vicinity of the ocean, and the constant passing to and fro of large ships, is a source of pleasure to them, which these smaller river-craft never can afford. No doubt one of the great charms of Greenwich Hospital, to the British mariner, is the constant succession of ships of every size and form that pass every hour of the day up and down the Thames before their eyes, giving scope for nautical criticism, and maritime jokes, as to the respective styles of handling ships under weigh; but the same class of beings who are perfectly happy on the ever-varying banks of the Thames at Greenwich, would die of ennui if removed farther up the same stream, though surrounded by all the softer beauties of Twickenham or Richmond Hill.

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## CHAP. VII.

History and description of the Pennsylvania Hospital—Statistics of its patients and cures—Financial resources of the establishment—Treatment and condition of the insane.

ONE of the noblest and most extensively useful of all the benevolent institutions, is the Pennsylvania Hospital, situated in the very heart of Philadelphia. To this I had the opportunity of making a long and interesting visit, devoting an entire day to the purpose, and being accompanied by Mr. Nicholas Biddle and Dr. Bell, from whom, and from the resident director, answers to every enquiry were readily obtained. High as my admiration had already been of the perfection to which the arrangement and management of such institutions as these is carried in America, it was raised still higher by a personal inspection of every part of this admirable hospital; and as its history, as well as the statistics of its present condition, is calculated to excite the emulation of benevolent minds in other countries, a brief sketch of both is here condensed from authentic sources.

The Pennsylvania Hospital was founded by a number of the benevolent citizens of Philadelphia, incorporated in the year 1751, by an act of the provincial legislature, as "The Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital;" every contributor of ten pounds,



or upwards, being a member of the corporation, with a vote in its elections, and eligible to be appointed to the management of its concerns.

The design of the Hospital is general, its charter providing for the reception of insane persons, and those afflicted with all other maladies not infectious. A lying-in department, authorized by a subsequent act of Assembly, for the accommodation of poor married women, of respectable character, has been founded on a donation from the first troop of Philadelphia City Cavalry, of money received by them for military services in the war of the revolution. The number of women annually received into this department, is now upwards of seventy.

The charter of this institution provides, that no part of its income shall be appropriated to any other purpose, than to the support of the sick and diseased poor, and providing the necessary buildings for their accommodation ; and that those whose diseases render them proper objects of the charity, shall be received from any part of Pennsylvania, without partiality or preference.

The contributors meet annually on the first Monday in the month of May, to elect from their body, twelve Managers and a Treasurer, to serve during the ensuing year. The law regulating their duty and trust, provides, that they shall receive no emolument whatever for the performance of their official duties.

The managers elect annually three physicians to have charge of the medical department ; three surgeons to the charge of the surgical department ; and two physicians for the lying-in department ; all of

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whom must be doctors in medicine, and members of this corporation.

Two young gentlemen, graduates of medicine, reside in the hospital, and take charge, alternately, of the surgical, and the medical and obstetrical departments, under the direction of the visiting physicians and surgeons. One of the residents is elected annually to serve two years. An apothecary is employed, to prepare and dispense the medicines prescribed by the physicians.

The physicians and surgeons of this hospital have uniformly rendered their important aid gratuitously. The students of medicine who attend the practice of the hospital physicians, pay a fee of ten dollars each for the privilege: these fees,—which in European hospitals are a perquisite of their medical staff,—the professional gentlemen, attached to the Pennsylvania hospital, have generously devoted to the foundation and endowment of a medical library, which now consists of about 6,000 volumes, comprising a large proportion of the most valuable ancient and modern works on the science of medicine; with many rare treatises on botany, and other branches of natural history. Students have the privilege of using this splendid collection, while attending the hospital practice; and a right to its use during life is granted for the sum of twenty-five dollars.

After the accommodation of as many poor patients as the state of the funds will justify, the managers have authority to receive pay patients; any profit derived from this source being devoted to increase the fund for the maintenance of the poor. The rates usually charged are from three to six dollars

per week, according to the circumstances of the patients.

The number of the patients to be received on the charity of the institution is fixed from time to time by the Board of Managers; it is now nominally 100, but, as no serious cases of accidental injury are ever turned away from the hospital-gate, the number of poor patients in the house is frequently 120.

About one-third of the patients on the poor list are insane; it has been found necessary thus to limit their number, on account of the great length of time such patients have remained, to prevent their occupation of the house to the exclusion of the necessitous sick and wounded.

A new arrangement has, however, been introduced, which, already productive of much good, promises to render this interesting department of the institution of far greater public utility than before.

Experience has demonstrated, that mental maladies are almost insusceptible of cure, except in their earlier stages; every thing appears to depend on the prompt removal of the patient from scenes and persons associated with the mental hallucination, and an early subjection to a proper course of medical and moral treatment. It being, therefore, of great importance to open the door of admission as widely as possible to recent cases, the managers of the hospital have agreed, that in future, except under particular circumstances, insane persons shall be received on the charity, but for limited periods; sufficient security being taken that they shall be removed by their friends when the disease becomes fixed, and the restoration of reason is no longer to be expected.

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The square on which the Hospital stands, measures nearly four acres. About seven-eighths of this square were purchased by the managers in 1754, for the sum of 500*l.* Pennsylvania currency. The remaining portion, consisting of 396 feet in length, by 60 in depth, was presented to the hospital in the year 1762, by Thomas and Richard, sons of William Penn.

The open square, lying in parallel lines to the east, together with several lots to the south and west of the hospital, containing in all about ten acres, have been purchased at various times, in order to secure an ample space, and free circulation of air around the buildings.

The Hospital, surrounded on the borders of the square by majestic forest-trees, chiefly the occidental plane, the largest growth of the North American forest, planted in the year 1756, exhibits a south front of venerable aspect and considerable proportions, extending east and west, 281 feet. It consists of a centre building, united by long wards, of three stories in height, to two wings extending north and south. The wings are surmounted by cupolas.

The centre building measures 64 feet in front, by 61 in depth, and with the balustrade surrounding its cupola, is 72 feet in height. The long ward to the east of the centre, is 81 feet in length, by 27 feet in breadth; and the east wing measures 27 feet east and west, by 111 feet north and south. The western ward measures 81 feet by 33, and the west wing 28 feet by 111.

The foundation-stone of this edifice was laid on

the 28th of May, 1755. It bears the following inscription :—

“In the year of CHRIST  
MDCCLV.  
George the Second happily Reigning  
(For he sought the happiness of his people)  
PHILADELPHIA Flourishing  
(For its inhabitants were public-spirited) •  
This Building,  
By the Bounty of the Government,  
And of many private persons,  
Was piously founded,  
For the Relief of the Sick and Miserable.  
May the God of Mercies  
Bless the Undertaking.”

In one of the wings of the building is exhibited the painting by Benjamin West, of Christ healing the Sick in the Temple. The exhibition of this superb piece, a present from that distinguished artist, produces a revenue to the hospital of about 400 dollars per annum; and the records show that from its first opening, more than 100,000 visitors have been admitted to see it. West, it is well known, was of a Quaker family; and the exhibition of this production of his pencil in the Quaker city of Philadelphia, is agreeable to those who are proud of his fame as an artist of sufficient merit, though a republican, to become the favourite painter of an English monarch, George the Third.

A fine statue of William Penn, of lead, bronzed, (presented by his grandson, John Penn, Esq. of Stoke Pogeis, England) is placed upon a pedestal of white marble, in a conspicuous situation on the lawn before the south front of the Hospital. A chair, once the property of that great man, is

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preserved in the house ; and a scion from the elm-tree under which was held the celebrated treaty with the Indians, in 1682, has attained considerable size in the square opposite the western front of the building.



The green-houses, containing a handsome collection of exotic plants, together with the ornamental lawns in front and rear of the house, are under the care of a regular gardener. The attention paid to neatness, and even ornament, in the exterior and grounds, as well as in the interior of the house, gives to the whole an air of elegance seldom equalled in establishments of this nature. This is justified, as well by donations to a considerable amount having been received for this purpose, as by the influence it is calculated to exert on the mind and health of the inmates of the institution.

A carriage and pair of horses are kept for the use of the patients ; money for their purchase and

support having been bequeathed by Dr. Samuel Cooper, formerly a resident physician in the hospital. Another horse is kept for the marketing and other necessary uses of the establishment ; and twelve cows for a supply of milk to the patients : these derive the principal part of their support from the adjacent lots, the property of the institution.

The provisions furnished to the inmates of the hospital are of the best quality ; the common diet is plain but nutritious, and in necessary cases, delicacies and wines are freely administered, on their prescription by the physicians ; it being a recognized maxim, that, while nothing may be administered merely to pamper the appetite, nothing shall be spared which can contribute to the recovery of health.

The total number of patients admitted into the hospital from its opening, February 11, 1752, to the 28th of April, 1838, was 35,646, of whom 18,979 were poor, and 16,667 pay patients.

In addition to these, a large number of out patients have been attended by the hospital physicians, and supplied with medicines gratuitously, of whom 13,040 have been restored to health.

In the past year there have been 187 cases of insanity, and 22 of delirium tremens ; of the former of which 38, and of the latter, 18 have been cured ; 27 have been removed by their friends, 1 has eloped, 17 have died, and 101 remain in the hospital at present.

The last thirty years have witnessed much improvement in the situation and treatment of the unfortunate subjects of insanity, throughout the civilized world ; and the circumstances of the inmates of this asylum, have certainly shared in the general amelio-

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ration. Their treatment here has been always characterized by humanity. At no period has cruelty towards them been tolerated. The attendant who is known to strike, or otherwise ill-treat a patient, is at once discharged.

The medical treatment of this class of patients, varies, of course, according to the symptoms of the malady, and its connection with other derangements of the system.

The confined situation of the buildings, together with their common appropriation to the purposes of a general hospital, unfortunately prevents the adoption of an efficient system of classification and employment; essential constituents of what is commonly termed, moral treatment. Employment is believed to be beneficial in all cases, except of acute delirium; where cure is possible it conduces to it; and where this is not even hoped for, labour ensures sound repose and a general tranquillity, which is rare in the unemployed. This being the belief, founded on experience, of those who administer the affairs of this institution, it is acted upon as far as circumstances will permit. The greater part of the females are employed in knitting, sewing, spinning, and similar avocations. It has been found more difficult to furnish occupation for the men; a number of them are, however, employed; some in weaving tape or fringe, preparing carpet yarn, and making mattresses; and others in supplying the house with fuel, keeping in order the yards, areas, &c. In short, every opportunity is taken to promote employment, and every disposition on the part of a patient to occupy himself innocently, is encouraged; to this end, chess, drafts, and some other amusements have been introduced, and newspapers

and books are furnished to those who can enjoy them. Two musical instruments, a grand-harmonicon and a piano-forte, have contributed many pleasant hours to the female patients ; and the soothing melody of the flute is not unfrequently heard in the apartments of the men.

The diet afforded in this asylum, is more generous than that of many similar institutions, judging from the bills of fare, and other statements occasionally published. Spirituous liquors, wines and porter, are only administered when prescribed by the medical attendant, who has power to order these, as well as any other article of diet at his discretion.

No difference is made in the diet or treatment of patients merely on account of their wealth. An attempt is made to class them in some measure according to the society in which they have been accustomed to move, when the mind is susceptible of such distinctions, but no difference exists between the treatment of those who pay for their board, and those who are supported on the charity of the institution ; nor is it thought necessary to inform their attendants to which class they belong.

Out of 120 patients, more than 90 usually eat at table, in companies ; their attendants sitting at the same tables, helping them to their food, and partaking of the same fare. The diet of these patients is not portioned ; each is allowed to satisfy his appetite. Those who do not eat at table, are the very dirty, the violent, and those placed by the physician upon a prescribed diet.

In the last year, 1837, up to the 28th of April, 1838, the total number of patients admitted into the Hospital were 1037, of which 784 were males, and

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253 were females—and of the same number 382 were pay patients, and 655 were poor. These, added to the number that remained in the Hospital at the close of the preceeding year, made 487 pay patients, and 759 poor; of which 392 of the former, and 657 of the latter, were discharged, chiefly cured, and 95 pay and 102 poor patients remained in the institution.

Of the 1037 patients thus received in the past year, 572 were natives of the United States, and 411 were natives of Great Britain, 56 from England, 8 from Scotland, 3 from Wales, and no less than 344 from Ireland,—so large is the proportion which the emigrant labourers from that unhappy country furnish to the charitable, as well, unfortunately, as to the criminal institutions of the United States. In our conversation with the insane, of which we saw the greatest number, we found them all more sociable, and under more easy control, than we had anticipated. They appeared almost uniformly happy. One lady had danced with General Lafayette at a ball at Boston, and this was the great charm of her life. Another had unfortunately rejected the addresses of a suitor, whom she really loved, but was afraid it would be thought immodest to accept him at once; and this was the poison of her existence. One of the happiest was a French captain in the army, who considered himself a field-marshal, and who talked with a degree of vivacity and volubility, such as I had never heard before. The new Asylum building for the lunatics at Brockley, some miles out of town, will be a great comfort to them, and a great relief also to the Hospital.

## CHAP. VIII.

The seaman's friend society—The Magdalen society—Contrast of Europe and America—Indigent widow's and single women's society—The Philadelphia orphan. society—Hospital for the blind and lame—Union benevolent association—Society for promoting Christianity in China—Proposed new order of Missionaries—Testimony of Ellis's Polynesian researches—Letter of the Missionaries of Sandwich Islands—Labours of Mr. Gutzlaff in China—Reference to my proposed voyage round the globe—Theory of the new order of Missionaries—Healing the sick, and preaching the gospel—Success hitherto attending this union—Foundation of an Ophthalmic hospital in China—Testimony of the Chinese who had been cured—Formation of a general dispensary in China—Suggestion of a medical Missionary society—Certain benefits of such an institution.

BESIDES the larger and more prominently useful of the benevolent institutions of Philadelphia already described, there are many smaller ones, all conceived in the same philanthropic spirit, and all productive of great good in their several spheres: a short account of which is due to the character of the community, by which they are supported.

One of these is the "Seaman's Friend Society," which was formed in the year 1829, with a view to rescue, if possible, the hundreds of thoughtless mariners from the temptations by which they are surrounded, and before which so many of them daily fall. It has been well observed, by the founder of this truly useful, and praiseworthy institution, that

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the greater number of seamen's lives are passed in the narrow, rude, contaminating society of the isolated vessel; and their visits ashore, few and far between, are only distinguished as the opportunities for squandering their hard-earned wages in scenes of guilt and wretchedness. Privations and hardships, inclement skies, wintry storms, battle, murder, sudden death, and all the perilous incidents of their occupation, are fast sweeping them to eternity. If helplessness and need may then touch the sympathies of the heart, and impose a measure of duty according to the power to relieve, none of our fellow-men would seem to press more urgent claims upon prompt and efficient aid, than those who "go down to the sea in ships." They are not only exposed to the arts of the unprincipled, and to every evil influence from the licentious; but the general system of sailor-boarding-houses, is a mere lure to excess, deriving its chief gain from pandering to their vices. Under the power of such temptation, they are easily subdued; their aversion to moral enjoyments is deepened, and capacity for reflection and instruction destroyed; and after a short period of feverish excitement, and bewildering sensualities, plundered of every dollar, and in debt, they are shipped off only to procure new means to ensure a repetition of the same arts of ruin at the next port they reach.

The only remedy for this evil was, of course, to provide other boarding-houses than those formerly frequented by them, where the seamen might have all the comforts, and much more of the economy, but none of the vices and temptations of their old haunts. Such an establishment was accordingly

formed in Front Street, near the Delaware, in the quarter where ships and seamen most abound : and placed under the direction of a discreet and excellent manager, captain Abels, where every attention was paid to their real wants, but where no intoxicating drinks (the cause of all a sailor's extravagancies and miseries) was permitted to be used, or seen.

The superintendent of the establishment affords also every facility to the study of navigation ; and it has been pleasing to remark, that as seamen became weaned from coarse gratifications, they have applied themselves studiously to understand the science of their own calling. There is a reading-room, furnished with journals, civil, literary, and religious, maps and charts, and a small library of useful books ; besides a registry, stating the names of vessels sailing, ports of destination, names of seamen shipped, also the names of all applicants for shipping employment ; and a religious meeting is held one evening of every week, conducted by the stated preacher of the Mariner's Church. This meeting is well attended, and is highly interesting.

The superintendent states, that since the house has been under his care, there have been 234 boarders, averaging ten per week, of whom two-thirds have been seamen—195 have been shipped in vessels for the most part under temperance regimen—four have studied navigation—six from common sailors have become officers—five have respectably settled themselves in domestic life—three have joined the church, and several had been seriously impressed, showing the happy influences of their new circumstances.

These are fruits that may well satisfy the expecta-

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tions of those who were the first to plant the tree that has yielded them, and make glad the hearts of those who are enabled to repose under its shade.

The Magdalen Society of Philadelphia is another benevolent Institution, deserving of all praise. There is nothing, perhaps, that strikes the English traveller who visits America more than the contrast which the streets of its principal cities present, with those of similar towns in England, in the absence of unfortunate and depraved females. In London, it is impossible to pass on foot through any great thoroughfare, even by day, without being gazed at and accosted, in the most unequivocal manner, by numbers, who, from their style of dress, walk, air, and manner, as well as by gestures, and even words, leave no doubt on the mind of the passenger as to their habits and character. In Edinburgh, Dublin, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, and other large towns, not to speak of sea-ports, such as Plymouth, Portsmouth, Bristol, and others, they abound; and after sun-set, the throng that appears abroad in the streets is innumerable. In the cities of New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia (the only large places I have yet visited), I saw nothing during the day, in any of their great thoroughfares, to offend the eye or the ear in this particular; and at night, the number who, from being unattended by gentlemen, may be supposed to be women of unchaste character, is not a twentieth part of that with which the thoroughfares of our English towns are crowded; and even these behave with a decorum and propriety that is unaccompanied by any overt act of approach towards the male passengers, who are not commonly accosted or annoyed by them in any way.



Notwithstanding this superiority, however, of the great American cities over the British, there are, no doubt, some such women of loose character, a large proportion of whom, it is believed, come originally from Europe, and but few, comparatively, are native Americans. In Philadelphia, though containing a population of 200,000 persons, there are fewer, it is supposed, than in many English towns of 10,000 inhabitants; but few as they are, an Institution exists, chiefly under the management of Quaker ladies, for reclaiming such as can be persuaded to quit a vicious and adopt a virtuous course of life.

Since the commencement of the Society's labours, 466 females have been provided for, and invited to a reformed life; and besides the sixteen females now under their care, one hundred and seventy have either been restored to their friends, or otherwise enabled to return to honest occupations in life; many of whom can now be named, as respectable wives, and affectionate and industrious mothers, or in various other modes, adorning their professions of reform by exemplary lives.

The females received into this Asylum are instructed in labour, and great attention is paid also to impress them with accurate notions of their moral and religious duties, and with habits of sober life: though almost every report of the Society attributes the first breach of their chastity in most instances, and the perpetuation of their vicious course in almost all, to the profuse use of spirituous liquors—so universal is the agency of this poison in producing crime and wretchedness in every form.

Another excellent Institution is the "Indigent

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Widows and Single Women's Society of Philadelphia," managed and supported almost wholly by ladies. It has now been established twenty-one years, and during that time has afforded support and aid of the most important kind, to the two classes of persons named in its title: the last report for 1837, contains the following paragraph.

"The managers have the satisfaction of informing the patrons of the institution, that the present condition of the family is quiet and comfortable. By the unwearying assiduity and kindness of our excellent matron, the inmates, aged and infirm as they are, retain a peaceful serenity, more even than is usual in the advanced stage of life to which they have generally arrived. The household comprises fifty-six members, all of whom, it is believed, are now united in harmony and contentment among themselves, and in gratitude to their benefactors."

The "Philadelphia Orphan Society," is another of the institutions managed wholly by ladies. In this, destitute orphans are provided with food, raiment, and instruction in some useful art or trade, accompanied with a plain education, by which they are qualified to obtain an honest livelihood by their own labours: and every year, inmates thus trained, are placed out in advantageous situations. The income and expenditure of these two institutions are about 6,000 dollars each, annually, and this sum is raised entirely by voluntary contributions.

The "Philadelphia Society for the Establishment and Support of Charity Schools," is under the direction of gentlemen. Its object is to furnish education gratuitously to the children of those who cannot even afford the small weekly sum necessary to find admittance into the common schools of the State. The number educated in this manner is not great, not

more, perhaps, than 500 in all, education being so cheap at the common schools as to bring it within the reach of almost every one. But even the few that are excluded for want of means to pay the small weekly amount required, are by this Institution rescued from ignorance and vice, and its contribution to the general good is therefore valuable and acceptable.

Besides an Ophthalmic Hospital near the Institution for the Blind, and several new buildings connected with benevolent objects rising up in the same quarter of the city, there is one that deserves especial mention, namely, "the Wills' Hospital for the Indigent Blind and Lame." This institution was founded by the splendid bequest of a citizen of Philadelphia, named James Wills, who gave 108,000 dollars, since increased by interest to 122,000, for the purpose of building and endowing it: and after expending 57,000 dollars in the purchase of the ground, and erection and furnishing the building, there remain 65,000 dollars invested for its income.

One of the most interesting, because most extensively useful of all these excellent institutions is, perhaps, "the Union Benevolent Association," which has taken up a sort of missionary labour among the poor and destitute, who could not be otherwise reached except through the agency of personal visits in their own abodes. Such labours as these are eminently beneficial, where the influence of larger and less active institutions would never be felt at all: and therefore, in the hope of exciting emulation and imitation in other towns, I think it desirable to transcribe the few following passages from its last report.

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"The ultimate object of the Association, is, to elevate and better the condition of the poor, by inculcating the principles of an efficient morality, and calling forth, or cherishing in their minds, a spirit of independence and self-estimation, which will produce habits of thoughtfulness, and reliance on their own own resources.

"This transformation of character we propose to effect, by the simple agency of plain instruction, and cheering counsel, conveyed through the abodes of the destitute, by the familiar visitation of those more elevated in life; who, rendering themselves acquainted with their habits of domestic economy, may, at the same time that they point out the causes of existing depression, strive to teach the means whereby the greatest number of comforts may be obtained at the least possible cost.

"As auxiliaries in promoting so desirable an end, our design embraces the encouragement of new modes of industrious occupation, the collecting and communicating to the labourer a knowledge of situations where he may procure work, and the wages which his exertions will command; affording him, through the medium of tracts, facilities for obtaining information on practical subjects; instructing his wife in the most advantageous employment of her needle, the most frugal manner for providing for her family, and impressing upon her the value of thrift and economy in conducting all her household affairs; urging upon those who may require it, the necessity of giving their children suitable education, and undertaking to place them in schools where they may obtain it; or, to find situations for those who can be spared from home; and inducing all to lay by, as a resource for the future, such portions of their weekly or monthly income as they can spare, instead of spending it in dissipation or personal gratification."

The effects produced by the labours of this Institution, may be judged of from the following statement extracted from the same source :—

"By the reports of the board of managers of the ladies' branch, it appears there have been 2,669 families regularly visited; of whom 1,068 have been relieved; 89 adults have been furnished with regular employment, and 28 placed at school; 84 children have been put into families, at trades, or sent to sea, and 698 placed at

school; 8 persons have been induced to deposit in the Savings' Fund Bank, 408 in the Fuel Saving Society, and several to place in the hands of visitors small sums to be applied in the payment of rent. In several instances, families or individuals have been relieved from the inconvenience of debts pressing upon them, and from which they saw no means of freeing themselves; and that without giving or advancing any money, but simply by prevailing upon them to make a small weekly deposit, saved by economy from their usual earnings.

"In some cases of peculiar hardship, it has been found requisite to afford pecuniary aid, in order to prevent the accumulation of distress sinking the unfortunate victim into despondency. When judiciously applied, it not only administers immediate relief, but stimulates to unwearied exertions.

"In some instances, the visitors have found it useful to redeem articles pawned, but to require the payment of the money advanced; of course, without interest. In other cases, small sums of money have been loaned, to enable poor widows to open shops for the sale of tapes, pins, and needles, &c. or to prevent their being obliged to close such shops already established. The money advanced is returned in small sums, paid weekly or monthly."

The organization and machinery by which the Association effects its objects, is by a division of the city and its suburbs into wards and districts; thus availing themselves of all the advantages of local experience and division of labour; and this is the language in which the directors speak of this arrangement.

"By assigning to each visitor a small section, within which the attention and labour is limited, the beneficial influence of locality is soon felt, both by those to whom the section is allotted, and those who reside within it. The former, by becoming familiar with the extent and character of the field in which labour is to be performed, are more likely to prosecute with vigour such improvement as it manifestly requires, especially as they perceive that every day's toil accelerates its accomplishment; while the cordial inter-

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course which is gradually established, imperceptibly creates a feeling of affectionate interest in the concerns of all with whom they are thus personally associated. On the part of the latter (the visited,) it is found that repeated, kindly-offered instruction and assistance, speedily counteract any distant or unsocial feeling, and soon open a free communication of circumstances and wants, which would have remained unknown but for these benevolent attentions frequently proffered.

"Example soon lends its aid in inspiring confidence. One family informs its neighbour of disinterested services rendered, or benefits conferred, and these are led to seek counsel and instruction from the same source, until the influence of the advisers is found to pervade the whole location."

Of the powerful agency of the demon, "strong drink," in producing the wretchedness which this benevolent association seeks to relieve, the following is the testimony given :—

"In reverting to the causes of impoverishment, as discoverable by the visitors, it is found that *intemperance*, either as a remote or immediate agent, is the most general, the most overwhelming in its effects, and the most difficult to eradicate. Idleness, and the hope of support from public charity, lower the moral condition of those who indulge them, and create habits of dependence every way injurious; but we may encounter these with much greater prospect of success crowning our efforts to revive the long-dormant spirit of independence, and feeling of moral obligation, than where we have to contend with a vice, which, while it destroys the power for making exertion, at the same time deadens every feeling of shame, and renders its victim equally insensible to his own and his family's welfare. We are happy to note, in the several reports, many instances narrated, in which the elevating principle that influences the operations of the society, has been evinced by a reformation in both morals and manners; where the pauper has been reclaimed from habits of indolence, improvidence, and vice, and an opportunity afforded him to become a respectable and useful member of society."

Another very interesting institution, partly religious and partly benevolent, at the anniversary of which I assisted while in Philadelphia, is the "Society for promoting the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge in China." The mode in which this is effected, and that which gives it a benevolent as well as religious character is this:—that it first establishes hospitals and dispensaries for the sick, or furnishes funds to such as are already established; and then, having won the gratitude of individuals, by conferring on them the greatest of all temporal benefits, restoration to health, its agents find them more ready to listen to their discourses on spiritual things, and thus approach their understandings through their hearts,—a procedure which has been eminently successful.

On the subject of uniting the labour of healing the sick, with the propagation of the gospel, a highly interesting little volume was sent to me by its author, which I read with unusual satisfaction, partly because the same general idea which forms the basis of his excellent work had occurred to myself many years ago, and was expressed in the volume of my "Travels in Mesopotamia," written in the year 1816; and still more, because of the complete manner in which the author has established his main position, and illustrated it by evidences and arguments of the most convincing nature. The work is entitled "Thoughts on the importance of raising up a New Order of Missionaries," and the motto, from the Evangelist St. Luke is this: "And he sent them to preach the kingdom of God, and to heal the sick."

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proof of the necessity of some auxiliary aid to Christian missions, through the diffusion of general and useful knowledge, there is one from a distinguished member of the Missionary body, Mr. Ellis, who, in his *Polynesian Researches*, has the following remarkable passage. "If, in addition to the means already in existence, there were also an institution for the promotion of agriculture, mechanic arts, and social order, and the general civilization of rude and barbarous tribes, such a society would exert a powerful and beneficial influence, and furnish an important agency in conjunction with those engaged."\*

Messrs. Thurston and Bishop, of the Sandwich Islands mission, say, in a letter on the same subject, "We still cherish the hope of doing something, ere long, by way of instructing this people in the art of making cloth. A few wheels, and other apparatus for carding, spinning, and weaving, would be sufficient for trying the experiment, were there any person ready and able to instruct them:" and they add, "We most earnestly invite the friends of civilization to consider this subject." And Mr. Gutzlaff, the celebrated Chinese missionary, says, of the people among whom he has been labouring, "It is very desirable to let the people feel the edge of our scientific superiority; I have, therefore become the editor of a monthly Chinese periodical, and wish to publish several works on science separately."

The author shows, that the best first step in this pioneer service for Christianity would be that of healing the sick; and the rest might appropriately follow. He justifies this course by the example of Jesus,

\* Vol. II. page 220.

and by his command to the apostles and disciples :  
 "And as ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of  
 heaven is at hand; heal the sick, cleanse the lepers."  
 And again, "Into whatsoever city ye enter, and they  
 receive you, eat such things as are set before you;  
 and heal the sick that are therein, and say unto them,  
 The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you."

The excellence of the theory, if one may so call it,  
 must strike every one; but coming supported as it  
 does by scriptural example and authority, it is irre-  
 sistible. There is no doubt that while a mere mission-  
 ary preacher might be many months in a heathen land  
 before he would be able to draw around him a congre-  
 gation at all, and many years before he would be able  
 to possess much influence over his followers—the pre-  
 judices of the people, their deep ignorance and fear-  
 ful superstitions, the hostility of the priests, and the  
 jealousy of the governments, all forming almost insur-  
 mountable obstacles—a missionary surgeon or physi-  
 cian, who, before he opened his lips on the subject of  
 religion, could give sight to the blind, hearing to the  
 deaf, strength to the weak, and life, health, and  
 vigour to those whom he might rescue from the brink  
 of the grave, would form by this means such con-  
 nections with his patients, and open so ready an  
 avenue to their hearts, that his subsequent communi-  
 cations to them, on the subject of spiritual things,  
 would be heard with grateful attention. And if to  
 his healing of diseases were still further added, the  
 establishment of schools and workshops, in which  
 the elements of knowledge could be taught, in con-  
 nection with agriculture, weaving, building, and  
 what may be called the domestic arts, accompanied

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by presents of new seeds, new plants, new animals, with tools, models, and implements of unquestionable utility, the effect produced in the community receiving them would be of the most beneficial kind.

This is so perfectly in accordance with my own views, frequently and publicly expressed, and once embodied into a plan for a "Voyage round the Globe," for the purpose of uniting these objects of philanthropy with the more usual ends of discovery and commerce,—that I may be permitted to refer the reader to the Appendix, for the prospectus of the voyage alluded to, with an account of the obstacles that prevented its being carried into execution.\*

Such would be the conclusion to which any unprejudiced mind would come, upon the mere statement of the theory alone; but happily, the practice—for, to a certain limited extent, to practice it has been reduced—bears out the soundness of the theory, and leaves no doubt of its universal applicability. Mr. Gutzlaff's Journal of his Mission among the Chinese, is full of examples, so full that it would be impossible to give a tenth of them in any moderate space: let one or two suffice. He says, "At Yangling I am well known; and the sick people range themselves along the streets as soon as the news of my arrival is given. Every one has his tale, his kind word, and salutation." "Whilst standing under a tree, I commenced my medical operations. Many an individual was profuse in his gratitude; and some offered presents, which I refused to accept." "In visiting village by village, hamlet by hamlet, I met with the most affectionate reception. There

\* See Appendix, No. II.

was not a hovel where we were not invited to stay over breakfast, and partake of their homely fare." "At Teen-tsin, my skill as a physician was soon put in requisition, and while passing the junk on my way to the shore, I was hailed by a number of voices as the *seen-sang*, 'teacher' or 'doctor,' and on looking around me I saw many smiling faces, and numerous hands stretched out to invite me to sit down. These people proved to be some of my old friends, who a long time before had received medicines and books, for which they still seemed very grateful." Again, "My patients had now become so numerous as to engross my whole attention; from very early in the morning till late at night, I was constantly beset by them, and often severely tried. Yet I had frequent opportunities of making known to them the doctrines of the gospel, and of pointing out the way of eternal life."

These are the testimonies of Mr. Gutzlaff, and they might have been multiplied twenty-fold, but they are enough to show how great was the advantage which he possessed as a religious teacher, from being a healer of diseases also; and no man who has travelled much in Asia or Africa can fail to recall to his recollection a hundred instances at least, in which, if he possessed any knowledge of the healing art, he was enabled to win the confidence and excite the gratitude of the most bigoted, simply because he relieved their sufferings, and thus subdued their prejudices and enmities, and substituted in their place veneration and esteem.

Acting on this principle, a gentleman belonging to the East India Company's medical establishment in China, and whose name will be honoured while

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he lives, and revered when he is dead, Mr. T.R. Colledge, formed at Canton an ophthalmic hospital, which is now in full vigour. But the account of its origin and progress is so encouraging, in the example it affords of what even one benevolent individual may accomplish; it is so honourable to that individual, and will be so gratifying to all the friends of humanity throughout the globe, that I cannot resist the desire of transcribing it in his own words. It is as follows :

“ Having, during the last three years, received from Mr. Vachell, chaplain to the British factory in China, the amount of offerings at the communion-table, it seems incumbent on me to state the origin and nature of the institution, to which this money has been applied ; and the claim it has on the good will and assistance of all persons anxious to alleviate the pressure of bodily infirmity, to which we are all liable, more especially in a country possessing few, if any, of those charitable institutions which grace so much our own more civilized and Christian land.

“ In the year 1827, on joining the East India Company's establishment, I determined to devote a large portion of my time, and such medical skill as education and much attention to the duties of my profession had made my own, to the cure of so many poor Chinese sufferers of Macao as came in my way. My intention was to receive patients labouring under every species of sickness, but principally those affected with diseases of the eyes, diseases most distressing to the labouring classes, amongst whom they are very prevalent ; and from which, the utter incapacity of native practitioners denies to them all hope of relief.

“ During that year my own funds supplied the necessary outlay. Throughout I have received little or no professional assistance. In 1828 many friends who had witnessed the success of my exertions in the preceding year, and who had become aware of the expenses I had incurred, came forward to aid in the support of a more regular infirmary, which I proposed to establish, and put me in possession of means to provide for the maintenance of such patients as I found it necessary to keep for some time under my care ; but

who, depending for their livelihood on daily labour, could not otherwise have reaped the benefits held out to them.

"Thus the hospital grew upon my hands. Confidence was established among a people who had been accustomed to consider foreigners as barbarians, incapable of virtuous, almost of human feelings; and the number of my inmates was regulated only by the limits of my accommodations. Two small houses have been rented at Macao, capable of receiving about forty patients: there are many more of the nature of out-patients; such only being housed, as, coming from a distance, have no friends with whom they can reside.

"The best proof which can be offered of the entire confidence of the people, and of the benefits which have been conferred upon them, is this, that since the commencement of this undertaking on a small scale in 1827, about *four thousand* indigent Chinese have been relieved from various maladies; many have been restored to sight; still more, saved from impending blindness, have resumed their usual occupations, and have supported, instead of remaining a burden on, their families.

"The more opulent and respectable classes of Chinese have, in the last three years, added their names to the list of subscribers; and have, by giving the hospital the sanction of their support, much enlarged the circle of its usefulness. The East India Company has written of it in terms of approbation, and, when applied to, liberally supplied it with medicines.

"Independently of the practical benefits conferred on suffering humanity, it is most desirable that the enlightened nation to which I belong should be known in this country as possessing other characteristics than those attached to us solely as merchants and adventurers. As charitably anxious to relieve the distresses of our fellow-creatures, we may be remembered when the record of our other connections with China has passed away."

Such is the simple, modest, and impressive narrative of the English gentleman, Mr. Colledge, whose pen furnished the above; and whose deeds are an honour to himself, his country, and his race. His reward must have been ample, in the serene satisfac-

tion of his own benevolent and self-approving mind and heart. But in addition to this, the letters of gratitude addressed to him by the suffering Chinese whom he had cured, and which, though numerous, are full of interest and originality, must have been more precious to him than silver or gold. A few short extracts from these remarkable documents will be read with pleasure.

Three Chinese, named Leu Aké, Leu Ahavu, and Kan Amang, from the district of Sinhwuy, say, "We were suffering from total blindness, and could not distinguish day from night, when unexpectedly we heard of the benevolence and charity of the skilful English doctor, whose benefits pervade the world, who liberally dispenses medicines, and supplies board, lodging, and everything complete. We came on purpose to be near his healing art, and, happily, in a few months our sight has been restored to us as perfect as at first. We are deeply impressed with gratitude for the doctor's liberal favours; we are now returning home, and prostrate make our acknowledgments. We do not know when we shall be able to offer a recompense. We can only express our hopes that the doctor may enjoy happiness, wealth, and honours."

A Chinese, named Isang Alé, says, "I, in youth, had an affliction of my eyes, and both were short of sight; fortunately it occurred that you, Sir, reached this land, where you have disclosed the able devices of your mind, and used your skilful hand. You spared no labour nor trouble, made no account of the expense of the medicines, both kept me in your



lodging-house, and gave me rice and tea. Truly this is what neither in ancient or modern times has ever been."

Another Chinese, Kwo Tingchang, of the district of Kewshan, after reciting his blindness, and his perfect cure, says, "I, Kwo Tingchang, with a thankful heart, return to my village; when can I make a poor return for your goodness? My whole family is grateful for your favours; while with leaping and joy I present these expressions thereof. In all the villages your fame will spread."

This is sufficient to show the good done, and the sense of gratitude inspired by it; and where these have been effected, the soil may be said to be well prepared for Christian labours. It seems, indeed, a fulfilment of the Scriptural picture, "The eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped; the lame shall leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb shall sing."

In imitation of the benevolent work already described, some American missionaries, aided by the medical gentlemen of Canton, established a general dispensary for the gratuitous supply of medicine to the Chinese poor; and under the direction of a Dr. Parker, to whom the funds collected by the society in Philadelphia are remitted, this has also effected a vast amount of good. But besides the suffering which it has relieved, it has led to the conception of a more enlarged undertaking, the proposition of which has but just reached this country from China, and has been well received. It is entitled "Suggestions for the Formation of a Medical Missionary

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Society, offered to the consideration of all Christian nations, more especially to the kindred nations of England and the United States of America." My hope and belief is, that this society will be soon formed, and the appearance of the volume I have mentioned is therefore most opportune, as being well calculated to forward its accomplishment.

For myself, I shall always remember with pleasure the share I was permitted to enjoy in advocating the utility of such labours as these at the public meeting of the Society in Philadelphia, from a sincere conviction that they are calculated to effect much certain and unequivocal good, in relieving a large amount of human suffering; and that they will pave the way to even higher and more important benefits, in the introduction of moral and religious truth to replace the ignorance and superstition in which China and the surrounding countries are now so deeply immersed. The operations of the Society, however, should not be confined to any one quarter of the globe, but be spread over every part of it; for if there be anything universally acceptable, it is relief from pain, and the substitution of health for sickness; and, therefore, the missionaries of this body might be fitly sent forth into all the countries of the earth, for everywhere they would be the most appropriate heralds of those "glad tidings of great joy, which proclaimed on earth peace, and good will towards men."

Their benevolent labours would be a constant illustration of the parable of the good Samaritan,—a daily commentary on the example of Jesus and his disciples—and a becoming imitation of their great

model of perfection, who "went about doing good;" while they might repeat, in every ear, his golden precept, "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets;" and they might then point to their own lives as a proof that what they taught to others, they practised themselves.

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## CHAP. IX.

Visit to the Eastern penitentiary of Philadelphia—Statistics of crime among its inmates—Chief sources of crime, ignorance and intemperance—English origin of the Pennsylvania system—Prisons of Gloucester, Glasgow, and Philadelphia—English, Prussian, Belgian, and French testimony—Report of Mr. Crawford on the penitentiary system—Objections answered by American authorities—Report to the State legislature of Pennsylvania—Corrupt picture of society ten years ago—Contrast of present tranquillity and order—Superior morality of the city of Philadelphia—Public discussion of the subject in Massachusetts—Opinions of the legislature of Ohio—Questions of religious instruction in prisons—Defects of this at Auburn and Sing Sing—Superiority of this at the Philadelphia prison—Advantages of voluntary over coerced reform—Opinion of Mr. Surgeon, an English writer—Question of comparative expense in the systems—Disadvantages of prisoners' intercourse at Auburn—Advantages of prisoners' seclusion at Philadelphia—Concluding testimonies of De Toqueville and Crawford.

OUR last visit to any of the public institutions of Philadelphia, was to the Eastern Penitentiary, where we were accompanied by Mr. Nicholas Biddle, and met by Mr. Wood, the warden, and Mr. Bradford, and Mr. Bacon, two members of the Board of Inspectors. Our former visit had been made with Mr. Matthew Carey; and a general description of the building and the discipline of the establishment has been given in a former page. But on this second visit we had an opportunity of bestowing a more deliberate examination, of visiting several of the prisoners in their cells, of conversing freely with them

alone, and of having all our inquiries frankly answered by the inspectors and warden, who took the deepest interest in showing us all we desired to see, and explaining to us all we wished to understand; and we spared no pains to make the most of these advantages, as there is, perhaps, no subject on which it is more important to the interests of humanity to have correct views extensively circulated, than in that of ascertaining what are the chief causes of crime, and what are the best modes for its prevention and cure.

The distinct manner in which, in this and in almost all other prisons, the commission of crime can be traced to two predominant causes—ignorance and intemperance—is a circumstance of the highest value, in directing the attention of legislators and philanthropists to the proper remedies for the evil—education and sobriety.

Of those that remained in the penitentiary in 1837, the following was the condition on the two points named :—

EDUCATION.		HABITS.	
Can read and write . .	342	Drank, and got drunk .	502
Can read only . . .	182	Drank, but did not get drunk	26
Cannot read or write .	173	Sober . . . . .	159
		Uncertain . . . . .	10
Total,	697	Total,	697

The opinions of the warden himself, whose age, experience, intelligence, and official situation, give the highest weight to his testimony, is thus powerfully expressed on this subject :—

“Important as it is to possess a good penal code and prison discipline, it is even more essential that our youth be so trained and

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educated as to fit them for useful members of society. If this subject were properly attended to, I believe the number of criminals, in this highly-favoured country, would be very small indeed. A close personal observation of all the prisoners who have been admitted into this Penitentiary (675), convinces me that, with few exceptions, they were an ignorant and much-neglected part of the community—thrust into society without school-learning—without moral training or scarcely any idea of religion—without habits of industry, or trades to qualify them to gain an honest livelihood—can it be wondered that sooner or later they become offenders against the laws, and the unhappy inmates of a prison. No class is so entirely neglected as our coloured population, and we accordingly find a large comparative number of this class among the convicted."

The distinguishing feature of the discipline observed in the Penitentiary of Philadelphia, is, that each prisoner is confined in a separate cell, and furnished with labour to perform alone, out of the sight and hearing of any of his criminal companions. This is called the Separate System, in contra-distinction to the plan observed at Auburn and Sing Sing in the State of New York, where the mode pursued is called the Silent System, from the circumstance of the prisoners working in company with each other, but being strictly forbidden, under severe penalties, to utter a single word. At the first introduction of this Separate System into America, a strong prejudice existed against its adoption, and even now the opposition is far from being withdrawn, though it is lessening in its force every year. It is thought by many to be of American origin, but this is an error, though it has certainly been brought to greater perfection in Philadelphia than elsewhere. It is of English birth, as is shown by the Second Report of the Inspectors of Pri-

sons for the Home District, in England, addressed to Lord John Russell as Secretary of State for the Home Department, under date of April 7, 1837, in which they say:—

“The system originated in England, in the year 1790, and was first enforced in the county-gaol at Gloucester. For some time previous, that distinguished magistrate, Sir George Paul, had been associated with Sir William Blackstone and Mr. Howard in devising a plan for a National Penitentiary; and the Separate System, as introduced at Gloucester, was adopted, as embodying the views which these eminent men entertained of the most efficient system for the management of prisoners. The building was provided with separate cells. Prisoners were confined individually apart, day and night, from the hour of their admission to that of their discharge. Those committed for short periods were not provided with employment; while convicts sentenced for longer terms were furnished with labour. Moral and religious instruction was administered in the cell as well as in the chapel. The discipline was enforced at Gloucester for a period of 17 years, and surpassed the most sanguine hopes of its enlightened founder. During this period few, if any, convicts were subjected to a second punishment. As population, however, advanced, the numbers committed so greatly increased beyond the means of separate accommodation, that the discipline was necessarily broken in upon, and at length superseded. The beneficial effects of the system were exhibited, however, up to the period of its being abandoned, by the number of recommitments proceeding almost exclusively from that class who were confined in association.

“But, although from the circumstances stated, separation could no longer be carried into effect at Gloucester, the labours of Sir George Paul proved the practicability and excellence of the discipline; and in the year 1824, when the magistrates of Glasgow reconstructed the Bridewell of that city, they determined to adopt the Separate System. Since that period the plan has been in full operation at this prison. The prisoners have sustained no injury in regard to their health; and the best effects have resulted,

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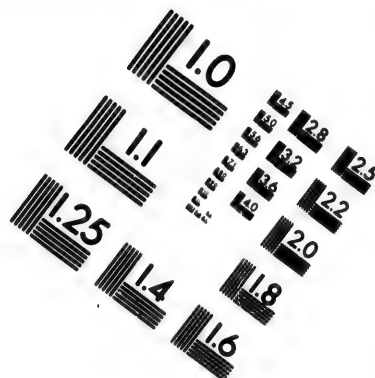
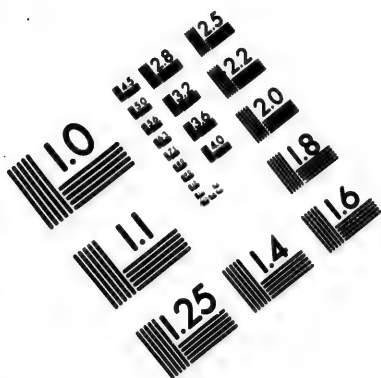
in deterring offenders sentenced for lengthened terms. It has, in fact, been found, that the longer the detention the more beneficial has been the discipline ; and if we had no other evidence than that furnished by the experience of the Glasgow Bridewell for a period of thirteen years, we should be justified in pronouncing the plan of separation to be safe and efficacious.

" It was not likely that the advantages of the system, so strikingly exhibited at Glasgow, should be overlooked by the friends to the improvement of prisons in the United States. In the state of Pennsylvania, which has been long regarded with deep interest, several enlightened and benevolent characters warmly advocated the superiority of separation. In Pennsylvania the punishment of death is rare, and transportation is unknown. Penitentiary imprisonment for life is the secondary punishment ; and in the case of the more heinous offences it is rigorously enforced. The introduction of the Separate System was, therefore, the more strongly opposed ; and loud were the complaints of its cruelty, and predictions of its danger. The most searching inquiries were accordingly instituted with reference to its character and effects. The result of these investigations was the adoption of the system.

" The Eastern Penitentiary erected in Philadelphia on the principle of individual separation, was opened in 1829 for the reception of prisoners. The admirable construction and management of this Penitentiary are too well known to justify us in entering into any detailed description of its government ; nor shall we advert further to its discipline except to state, that it affords irrefragable proofs that individual separation can be enforced for lengthened periods with perfect safety to the mind and health.

" There are prisoners who have now been in this Penitentiary for years, during the whole of which period they have been confined alone in their cell, day and night, and cut off from all intercourse with the world, and with their fellow-prisoners ; the solitude being mitigated solely by employment and the visits of the prison-officers, and others authorized to inspect the Penitentiary. And what is the result ? It appears, that, of twenty-six prisoners who have been in confinement for three years and upwards, all are apparently improved, rather than otherwise, in mind, and decidedly better in bodily health than when they entered the prison ; while





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in the opinion of those most competent to judge on such a subject, the deterring influence of the discipline has had a powerful effect in preventing crime."

The opinion of the warden of the Philadelphia Penitentiary, Mr. Wood, is in exact accordance with that of the English inspectors, quoted above, as to the effects of the discipline in deterring from the commission of crime, and this, of course, is one of its most important ends; for in the last report of the warden, after the financial statement connected with the prison, he says:

"The pecuniary affairs of the Penitentiary never exhibited so favourable a result, notwithstanding the very high price of all kinds of provision, as appears from the settlement of our accounts to the 31st of December last; a statement of which, the clerk has prepared for transmission to the proper authorities to be audited and settled.

"Satisfactory as our financial condition appears, we have, I conceive, much higher reason to rejoice at the happy influence produced on the minds and habits of many who have been inmates of this Institution, as evinced by their good conduct and industrious habits since their discharge. Some of them we have known and watched for several years; and although a few have returned, yet the greater part have shown a decided disposition to improve the salutary lesson given here. The result has been, thus far, such as not only to compensate the sacrifices incurred for the purpose of carrying the system into complete operation, but to encourage us to persevere in the good work; which affords, as I confidently believe, the most efficient means which human intelligence has yet devised, or human efforts can probably accomplish, of protecting the novice in crime from contamination by the more hardened and depraved, and of reforming at the same time a large proportion of both these classes of offenders."

Besides the testimony furnished by the English inspectors of prisons to the excellence of this system,

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intelligent foreigners of the highest character add their suffrages also in its favour. In 1834, the Prussian government, ever foremost, to its honour be it said, in legislative measures, for promoting education and abating crime, sent out a distinguished jurist, and excellent man, Dr. Julius, to make investigations into the prison discipline of the United States: and after bestowing the most careful attention on the subject in all its details, and visiting the several establishments in which the different plans of the Silent System, and the Separate System prevailed, though he came out strongly in favour of the former, he ended in being convinced of the superiority of the latter, as he thus expresses himself in a letter addressed to the inspectors of English prisons before named:

"Such are the arguments by which I am led to adopt with you the plan of separate confinement by day and night, in preference to the Silent System with night-cells, wherever a new prison is erected for convicts, or for prisoners before trial,—a class who ought to be more carefully preserved from contamination than even convicts. These arguments are the result of my observations in America, and of my subsequent researches; and, although I went to the New World with a strong bias for the Silent System, yet, after having seen both plans, I must say that I fully concur in the sentiments expressed in the following letter from my friend the Rev. Charles R. Demmé, the respected minister of the German church at Philadelphia. This gentleman, in adverting to the first establishment of the Eastern Penitentiary, observes:

"I then thought that the necessarily attendant evils of this system would be an impaired constitution, brutal insensibility, and lethargy, or incessant anxiety, gradually settling down to gloomy dejection and melancholy; and that, if the prisoner should be aroused from that state, resentment, malignity, and feelings of revenge on society, would be evinced by a repetition of the offence, or the commission of other crimes of still greater moral turpitude.

I watched, therefore, with deep solicitude, the progress of the building; and willingly would I have assisted in taking down every stone, and considered such a task a work of benevolence. When the system had been in operation for about six months, I was requested to speak to one of the prisoners, a German, who asserted his innocence of the crime for which he was sentenced. I went, but with reluctance. Since that time I have been to the prison repeatedly, and, as every opportunity was afforded me of doing so, I conversed with many of the prisoners. I have, consequently, become better acquainted with the principles of the Institution, and the effects which it has produced:—these communications have changed my sentiments, and I have since learned to regard the Penitentiary as an Institution suggested by the most enlightened and active benevolence, and calculated to produce the happiest results on the moral character and condition of society.”

The Belgian government also taking an interest in this question, sent its inspector-general of prisons, Monsieur Ducpétiaux, to England and Scotland, where, after examining the Bridewell of Glasgow, he became so convinced of the superiority of the Separate System, to every other that had yet been tried, that he induced the Belgian government to adopt it in the principal prisons of that country.

The two distinguished French travellers, Messrs. Beaumont and De Toqueville, whose opinions on any subject connected with legislation and jurisprudence are entitled to the highest weight, also made the subject of prison discipline one of careful examination, and they speak of the Separate System pursued at Pennsylvania in the following terms :

“ In Philadelphia, the moral situation in which the convicts are placed is eminently calculated to facilitate their reformation. We have more than once remarked the serious turn which the ideas of the prisoners in the Penitentiary take. We have seen convicts there, whose levity had led them to crime, and whose minds had,



in that solitude, contracted habits of meditation and of reasoning, altogether extraordinary. The system of this prison appeared to us especially powerful over individuals endowed with some elevation of mind; this we can assert, that this absolute solitude produces the liveliest impression on all prisoners generally, their hearts are found ready to open themselves, and the facility of being moved renders them also fitter for reformation; they are particularly accessible to religious sentiments, and the remembrance of their family has an uncommon power over their minds; one who enjoys the intercourse of society, is perhaps, incapable of feeling the whole value of a religious idea thrown into the lonesome cell of a convict.

"Nothing distracts in Philadelphia the mind of the convicts from their meditations; and as they are always isolated, the presence of a person who comes to converse with them, is the greatest benefit, and one which they appreciate in its whole extent; how great must be the influence of wise advice and pious exhortation on their minds. The books which are at their disposal are, in some measure, companions who never leave them. The bible, and some tracts containing edifying anecdotes, form their library. If they do not work, they read; and several of them seem to find in it a great consolation.

"These are the means employed in Philadelphia to enlighten and reform the convict. Can there be a combination more powerful for reformation than that of a prison which hands over the prisoner to all the trials of solitude, leads him through reflection to reasoning, through religion to hope; makes him industrious by the burden of idleness, and which, while it conflicts the torments of solitude, makes him find a charm in the converse of pious men, whom otherwise he would have seen with indifference, and heard without pleasure."

The testimony in favour of the Penitentiary System of Philadelphia might be considered, therefore, to be completed, embracing as it does the approbation of so many distinguished men from such different countries, and coming, too, many of them, to the examination of the subject with strong prejudices against it.

There remains yet to be added, however, that of an English gentlemen, Mr. William Crawford, sent out to America by the English government, for the express purpose of visiting the prisons of this country; and who, in his report to Lord Duncannon, then Secretary of State for the Home Department, speaks thus of the Penitentiary of Philadelphia.

"Having had unrestrained privilege to visit the cells at all times, I have had many opportunities of conversing in private with a considerable number of the prisoners. Aware of the strong feeling which exists of the danger resulting from long periods of solitary confinement thus strictly enforced, my inquiries were carefully directed to the effects which it had produced on the health, mind, and character of the convict. I have uniformly found that the deterring influence is extremely great, and such as I believe belongs to no other system of jail management; for although in large bodies associated together, silence may by strict discipline be in a great measure maintained, prisoners thus debarred from speaking have inevitably recourse to other modes of communication. I do not wish it to be inferred that moral corruption can result from intercourse so limited, yet when men are day after day thrown into the society of each other, the irksomeness of imprisonment becomes impaired, and its terrors materially diminished. The Eastern Penitentiary imparts no such relief.

"Of the convicts with whom I conversed, many had been previously confined in the New York and other prisons where corporal punishments were frequent; but these persons have declared that that discipline was less corrective than the restraints of continual solitude. When prisoners are associated, it is extremely difficult to cut off all intercourse from without. The arrival of new, and the discharge of other convicts form constant channels of communication. In the Eastern Penitentiary the separation from the world is certain and complete. So strict is this seclusion, that I found, on conversing with the prisoners, that they were not aware of the existence of the cholera, which had, but a few months before, prevailed in Philadelphia. The exclusion of all knowledge of their friends is severely felt, but, although every allusion to their situation was

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accompanied by a strong sense of the punishment to which they were subjected, I could perceive no angry or vindictive feelings; I was indeed particularly struck by the mild and subdued spirit which seemed to pervade the temper of the convicts, and which is essentially promoted by reflection, solitude, and the absence of corporal punishment.

"The only offences in the Eastern Penitentiary which the prisoner can commit, are idleness and wilful damage to the materials on which he is at work; on such occasions he is punished by the loss of employment, the diminution of his food, or close confinement in a darkened cell. The necessity for correction is extremely rare, there is not a whip, nor are there any fire-arms within the walls of the prison.

"Solitary imprisonment is not only an exemplary punishment, but a powerful agent in the reformation of morals; it inevitably tends to arrest the progress of corruption. In the silence of the cell, contamination cannot be received or imparted. A sense of degradation cannot be excited by exposure, nor reformation checked by false shame. Day after day, with no companion but his thoughts, the convict is compelled to listen to the reproofs of conscience; he is led to dwell upon past errors, and to cherish whatever better feelings he may at any time have imbibed. These circumstances are in the highest degree calculated to ameliorate the affections and reclaim the heart. The mind becomes opened to the best impressions, and prepared for the reception of those truths and consolations which Christianity can alone impart."

It is impossible to conceive a coincidence of opinion so striking as that manifested by so many different minds and under such varied circumstances, without the strongest assurance of their soundness and truth; and I may add, that the almost universal feeling and sentiment of the intelligent population of Philadelphia coincided entirely with that of those distinguished foreigners.

It is from other States, where the Silent System prevails, that the opposition to the Separate System of

Pennsylvania is chiefly made. Some of these are thus powerfully answered in a report of a body of commissioners appointed by the legislature to inquire into the condition of the Eastern Penitentiary and the House of Refuge at Philadelphia, who say—

“The notion has prevailed to some extent in the community, that the continual, uninterrupted restraints of the solitary cell, practised in the Eastern Penitentiary, must necessarily undermine and eventually destroy the health and physical vigour of the convict. Your Committee have felt it their duty to inquire into the truth or falsity of this allegation. On this question, the Committee have not relied on abstract reasonings and doubtful speculation, but have employed more convincing tests—the results of experiment and the application of ascertained facts.

“In the prisons at Columbus, Ohio; at Wethersfield, Connecticut; at Charleston, Massachusetts; at Sing Sing, and at Auburn, New York; and at several other prisons and penitentiaries, solitary confinement in cells is alternated with labour in the open air, during a large portion of each day. A comparison of the bills of mortality of the Eastern Penitentiary, with these several institutions, will show conclusively, that the unbroken solitude of the Pennsylvania discipline, does not injuriously affect the health of the convicts. At the Eastern Penitentiary, the deaths are two and five-tenths per cent.; at the Sing Sing prison, four per cent.; at Auburn, two per cent.; and so on,—settling the question beyond a possibility of doubt, that as great a measure of health is preserved in the Pennsylvania prisons, as in other similar institutions in the United States, or elsewhere.

“Another objection sometimes urged against the Pennsylvania system of discipline, and, in the apprehension of your Committee, equally groundless, with that last considered, is the supposed tendency of uninterrupted solitary seclusion, to derange the mental energies, to ‘dethrone reason, and make wreck of the immortal mind.’ In this case, too, the Committee had recourse to indisputable facts, and the verity of record evidence. A comparison of the registers of the several penitentiaries in the United States, will demonstrate the position, that the Pennsylvania prison exhibits

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as few, if not fewer, cases of mental derangement, as any similar institution. Indeed, no instance of insanity has, as yet, occurred in the Eastern Penitentiary, which has not been traced to causes wholly independent of, and either anterior or posterior to, the confinement. Whatever might be the disturbing and stultifying effects of strict seclusion, without labour, without books, without moral instruction, and without daily intercourse with the keepers, certain it is, that with all these circumstances to relieve the distressing ennui, and the supposed maniacal effects, of absolute isolation, the inmates of our prisons are in no danger of aberration or alienation of mind from the cause supposed."

But even admitting that in some instances the health of the individuals was injured, and in a few cases insanity produced—of which, however, there is no reasonable ground of apprehension—the gain to society, in general happiness, would still be great, from the diminution of crime to which this system of punishment has led. To what extent this has been effected, may be judged from the many pictures of society drawn in various publications before its introduction. One of these is cited in the Report of the Eastern Penitentiary, for 1837, addressed by the Board of Inspectors to the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in which they say:—

"Accustomed to look at the great results of the law, the Inspectors hold themselves excused if, in attempting to satisfy the public mind as to the wisdom of the measure, they should take a more comprehensive view of the subject than may seem to be required by the letter of the act of their appointment. Being called upon to attend to the operation of a system which was urged upon the State, and to test a theory by its practical results, the duty was entered upon with much anxiety and some little distrust, and the Board have hitherto delayed a positive assertion in its favour, until

it is forced from them by evidence which appears to be incontestable.

"In pursuance of these views, we take leave to call your attention to the existing state of things about the time of the first operation of the law which abrogated the punishment of death for all crimes except murder in the first degree, and substituted hard labour, and the ignominy of exposure in the public streets in shackles, with shaven heads and jail uniform.

"An intelligent writer, in giving an account of the criminal department of that day, says—'The disorders in society, the robberies, burglaries, breaches of prison, alarms in town and country, the drunkenness, profanity, and indecencies of the prisoners in the streets, must be in the memory of most. With these disorders the number of the criminals increased to such a degree as to alarm the community with fears that it would be impossible to find a place either large enough or strong enough to hold them.' It is a legend of our fathers that the apprehension of midnight depredators was a constant and engrossing subject of anxiety, and we all remember the precautions taken for personal security, which at this day are only the resort of the peculiarly timid, or those whose imaginations conjure up dangers which do not exist, or, if they do, it is only in rare and isolated instances, which, for their very novelty, excite our special wonder. It is within the memory of any man who has attained thirty years of age, that the depredations upon the public until within the last ten years, were frequent, and marked with enormity in the grade of crime to such a degree as to call the attention of all classes of citizens to the subject, and make it an ordinary and diurnal topic of conversation. It was no novelty to hear of combinations of rogues for the purpose of house-breaking, counterfeiting, and robbery in the public streets."

Nothing can certainly furnish a more powerful or more pleasing contrast to this picture of society little more than ten years ago, than the actual state of things as existing at present. It may be asserted with confidence, that, taken altogether, Philadelphia is the most quiet, orderly, and moral city on the

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globe ; and notwithstanding the late disgraceful conduct of a few of its inhabitants in burning down the Pennsylvania Hall, the stranger may pass through every part of the city and its suburbs, at any hour of the day or night, without risk of injury to his person or property ; he may travel anywhere in the neighbourhood of the city with as much safety as within its streets ; he may leave his doors and windows open almost with impunity at night ; and whenever or wherever he may direct his footsteps, he will find little or nothing to offend the eye or the ear in his path.

That much of this is the result of other influences, there can be no doubt ; but that much of it is also fairly attributable to the effect of the penitentiary system in reforming previous criminals, and deterring those not yet committed from entering on a career of crime, I have no doubt whatever ; and I feel convinced that the longer this system shall continue in operation, and the more generally it shall be adopted, the more beneficial its influence will be on the world at large.

It is agreeable to observe, that the subject is exciting more and more attention in the northern and eastern States, and has already become the subject of an animated public discussion. One of the best publications I have seen of this class is a work recently published at Boston, under the title of "Letters on the Comparative Merits of the Pennsylvania and New York Systems of Prison Discipline. By a Massachusetts Man." These were written chiefly in reply to an article or articles in a journal called "The Christian Examiner," in which it was alleged



that the Separate System was unfavourable to the communication of adequate religious instruction to the prisoners—was unnecessarily expensive and unprofitable in a pecuniary sense, and was not calculated to make the prisoners reformed characters—in all which respects it was contended that the Pennsylvania system was greatly inferior to that practised at Auburn and Sing Sing.

In these last, a chaplain preaches to the whole number of prisoners collected together, within sight of each other, in one large assembly, to which they are marched in gangs, under keepers, who compel their attendance under the fear of the lash, so that they go to their worship as they do to their work, with a sort of surly submission to their fate, like a bullock drawn up to the ring of a slaughter-house. The truth is, that prisoners ordinarily submit to hear a sermon on Sunday with just the same feeling as they follow each other in a lock-step to their cells, or comply with any other part of the discipline which they are sentenced to suffer. Hence the writer says, very truly:

“Whatever pretensions may be made, and however deep and general may be the momentary excitement which it is easy to produce in such ignorant and unoccupied minds, there will be found few, if any, permanent radical changes of character. The directors of the new Ohio penitentiary at Columbus, in urging upon the legislature the appointment of a permanent chaplain, speak of his labours out of the desk, as fully equal in importance to those in it. By visiting the prisoner in the solitude of his cell; making himself acquainted with the structure of his mind, his train of thought, his peculiar propensities, and the degree of moral culture he has heretofore received, he *would do more* towards the reformation of the prisoner than by his sermons on the Sabbath. In this way he

would sometimes find a secret avenue to the heart, through which wholesome counsel and instruction could be conveyed to a prisoner, upon whom a sermon addressed to the multitude would take no effect.\*

Now this is precisely what is effected and secured by the Pennsylvania system. The chaplain visits during the week the cells of the prisoners, and converses with each of them alone, when there is no eye near to watch the emotions of the countenance, and no ear to witness the confessions of contrition; so that the prisoner is never deterred from the fullest expression of the one or the other, by the fear or the shame which a large assembly might inspire, and the fullest scope is thus given to his confidence in his friendly visitor.

On the Sabbath, the labours of the chaplain are thus judiciously directed. He places himself at the top of one of the long avenues or corridors running from the centre, (of which there are seven,) and with his face and voice directed downward along its length, he can address himself so as to be heard distinctly by every prisoner along its whole extent, both in the corridor below, and in the gallery above: these still remaining, each in his separate cell, without any eye but that of the Deity, to witness their demeanour. "It is thus," says the Massachusetts writer, in opposition to the Christian Examiner,

"The simple truths of our holy religion fall on the prisoner's ear in the solitude of his cell. This is the nearest approach that is practicable, perhaps, to that most successful and effectual of all the modes that have ever been tried—*private, personal, oral instruction*.

"In the great assembly, the tear of penitence and the sigh of a

\* Journal of the Legislature of Ohio, 1834-5, p. 74.

broken heart are suppressed by the reproachful frown or the contemptuous sneer of others. But the prisoner in his solitude feels no such restraint. His thoughts are undistracted by the presence of others. He will gain nothing by the demure look or the forced tear of the hypocrite, and the moment the voice of instruction dies upon his ear, *he is alone with God*, and every thing invites to the posture and the language of the returning prodigal.

"For ourselves, we can testify from the experience of many years in this particular department of religious instruction, that the system of discipline adopted in the Eastern Penitentiary in Philadelphia, is decidedly more favourable, *on the whole*, to the religious education of the prisoners, than that of any prison on the Auburn plan north of the Potomac."

I was glad to see the opinion of my intelligent and benevolent friend, Mr. James Simpson of Edinburgh, quoted in this controversy, in support of the view taken by the Massachusetts writer, that instead of forcing reform on the criminals by coerced public worship, or by any similar means, it was safest and most effectual to lead them to reform themselves. The passage is this,

"A late English writer (Simpson) observes, that 'it is a deplorable error to think of *forcing reform*; that you can, in the active sense, reform the convict. *He must reform himself*. It is our part to take care that we do not hinder him by our punishments: but that on the contrary we leave him to *will* to amend, by quieting his mind and calling into activity his moral feelings—gradually bringing back his self-respect, by according to him a portion of our approbation as he deserves it, and stimulating his industry by realizing to him its fruits in a marked melioration of his condition and improvement of his prospects; with the ultimate reward of restoration to society, furnished with the means of livelihood and a re-established character, and not without the patronage and countenance of the friends and well-wishers of a genuine return to virtue."

The question of religious instruction and self-reformation being thus disposed of, the writer next

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advertises to the point of expense, on which the objectors to the Pennsylvania system lay great stress. By them this system is charged "with leaving out of view the profits of labour, and looking exclusively to the reform of the prisoner," a very singular charge to be brought against a system of prison discipline by a Christian Examiner. As his opponent truly says, "If the plan ought to be to make rogues profitable to the State, then many improvements might be made even on the Auburn system; though the avowed object of that system is, to make money out of the rascals in the first place, and if their reform should come in as a part of the result, it is not to be rejected, because unsought." The testimony as to the accuracy of this statement, I prefer to give in the writer's own words. He says:—

"The warden of the Sing Sing prison, and one of the original founders of the Auburn system, both declared to us last May, in each other's presence, that *they did not consider the reform of a prisoner as a probable event*. Their purpose is to make him submit to the utmost rigidity of their system while there, making the most of his labour, and when his term is out, let him go, and they will do as well as they can to supply his place until his next commitment.

"We confess we are surprised at the boldness and effrontery with which this principle is avowed, as the correct basis of a Penitentiary system; and that too by wise and benevolent men.—It was but last year that one or more commissioners from the State of Maine examined both these systems with considerable care, and with a view to adopt, for their own commonwealth, that which, on the whole, seemed to be best suited to their wants.—They reported in favour of the Auburn system, and they frankly confess that they were induced to do so, not from a conviction that it was the best system, but 'chiefly because *it is popular, and best calculated to disburden the State of expense in the support of convicts*'"

" Indeed the 'Christian Examiner' himself exults in the persuasion that whichever of the two systems may be the best for the prisoner and the community, the '*pecuniary advantages of the Auburn plan will have great attractions for the legislatures of America*!' and that whether it is perfect or not, it is on this account, (if on no other,) much more likely to be adopted than the Pennsylvania system. In other words, according to the Examiner, the great question with American legislatures is, not what system of Penitentiary discipline is most worthy to be adopted by an enlightened, philanthropic, Christian nation, but what will return us the greatest amount in dollars and cents!

" It is the glory of Pennsylvania that she has given such incontrovertible evidence, that she acts on no such sordid principle in the selection of her mode of Penitentiary discipline. It is believed, however, that the advantages of her system, even in this point, are inconsiderably, if at all, behind those of the money-making system which she has seen fit to decline."

In the system that is pursued at Auburn and Sing Sing, it is well known that the prisoners, though they are forbidden to speak to each other, do converse, in whispers, and in signs, and exchange communications also in writing or marks on various materials passing through their hands. They therefore, contract intimacies, if not friendships; their persons become familiar to each other, and their sympathies are constantly drawn into the same channel. The intention or theory of the Auburn plan, is to enforce complete and perpetual silence among persons who work in company with each other; but how different is the practice may be gathered from the following extract:—

" The opportunities for intercourse which occur on the Auburn plan, in its most improved modifications, are perfectly obvious. Every march to and from their cells and their work affords such opportunities in abundance. We have often seen their processions

in which half the men might be engaged in low conversation for rods, without being heard by any man in authority. Upon the work-bench, at the forge, or anvil, and indeed in almost every part of the establishment, except in the immediate presence and inspection of an officer, facilities of communication abound.

"That such is the fact, I have been assured," says a visitor, 'by those who have been inmates of the Auburn Penitentiary.' And even in an official report of the commissioners of that Penitentiary, to the legislature of New York, in which they speak of the 'admirable discipline' of the Institution, they say in the same breath—'We have seen within a few weeks past, notes written on pieces of leather tending to excite insurrection. So far as they can safely venture, they (the prisoners) will be found talking, laughing, singing, whistling, altercation and quarrelling with each other, and with the officers. They will idle away the time in gazing at spectators, and waste or destroy the stock they work upon.' This, be it remembered, is their own account of affairs. And well is it remarked by the British commissioner already cited, that this 'intercourse, however slight and occasional, materially contributes to destroy that feeling of loneliness which is the greatest of all moral punishments, and which absolute and unremitted seclusion cannot fail to inspire.'"

One of the certain consequences of this state of things, is that on being released from their confinement, the prisoners recognize each other when they meet in the world—their sympathies as fellow-prisoners are awakened—new plans of more successful crime, as they vainly hope, are projected—and every step only plunges them deeper, till they find their way back again to their previous confinement.

On the other hand, the Pennsylvania system of complete seclusion in separate cells avoids all this evil; for though two individuals should have been inmates of neighbouring cells, for ever so long a period, there is no chance of their knowing or recog-



nizing each other ; and of how great an advantage it must be to a man truly resolved on reformation, and desirous of beginning the world anew, not to be known as a previously-convicted criminal wherever he went, must be obvious to the most unreflecting.—In confirmation of this view, I will venture to cite two short passages only, from two equally high authorities ; the first from Mr. De Toqueville, the French writer, and the second from Mr. Crawford, the English commissioner ; and with these I think the evidence will be complete.

“ Let the prisoner,” says Monsieur De Toqueville, “ see no one but his keeper, or a minister of the gospel ; and let him reflect in his cell, upon his past course, and his future prospects ; but that his reflections may not be too intense, give him employment ; and he will come out not only a better man, but with the advantage of not having been seen, known, and marked as a convict. It is found by experience, that nothing has a stronger tendency to soften the hard, stubborn, vicious character, than absolute seclusion ; and that is precisely the point to be obtained with the convict.”

“ In judging of the comparative merits of the two systems,” says Mr. Crawford, “ it will be seen that the discipline of Auburn is of a physical, that of Philadelphia of a moral character. The whip inflicts immediate pain, but solitude inspires permanent terror. The former degrades while it humiliates—the latter subdues, but it does not debase. At Auburn the convict is uniformly treated with harshness, at Philadelphia with civility—the one contributes to harden, the other to soften the affections. Auburn stimulates vindictive feeling—Philadelphia induces habitual submission. The Auburn prisoner, when liberated, conscious that he is known to past associates, and that the public eye has gazed upon him, sees an accuser in every man he meets. The Philadelphia convict quits his cell secure from recognition, and exempt from reproach.”

In the careful personal inspection which I was permitted to make of every part of the Penitentiary,



—in the free and unconstrained intercourse and conversation, which I was allowed to indulge with the prisoners in their separate cells,—and in the long and interesting conversation which I had the privilege to enjoy with the inspectors and warden of the prison,—all the statements I have given in the preceding pages were abundantly confirmed, and all the favourable opinions completely justified. On the whole, therefore, we left the Philadelphia Penitentiary with a conviction that it exhibits one of the most successful experiments that the world has yet seen, for adequately punishing, and at the same time reforming and improving, the criminals committed to its care.

## CHAP. X.

Environs of Philadelphia, and excursions—Wilmington by the river Delaware—History of the state of Delaware—Population—White and coloured races—Agricultural and pastoral wealth—School-fund of the State and schools—Principal towns of the State—Great canal from the Delaware to the Chesapeake—Cemetery at Laurel Hill near Philadelphia—Inclined plane of the Great Western rail-road—Village of Manayunk on the Schuylkill.

THE environs of Philadelphia afford many agreeable excursions to the traveller, provided the weather admit of his enjoying them. During our stay here we possessed that advantage, though the climate embraced every conceivable variety. In our first passing through Philadelphia on our way from New York to Washington, the ice on the Delaware was sixteen inches thick, and the cold was intense. On our return in April it was still cold. During the greater part of May it rained heavily, but there were intervals of fine weather between. In June, the climate appeared more settled, but the heat was excessive; at least, such was its effect on the feelings, though the thermometer never indicated a greater heat than  $90^{\circ}$  in the shade. In the sun, however, it was often  $110^{\circ}$ . The suddenness of the changes from heat to cold, and *vice versa*, were very trying, and sufficiently accounted to us for the complaints made by strangers as to the

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variableness of the climate. Still it was favourable to occasional excursions, and of this I readily availed myself.

The voyage from Philadelphia to Wilmington down the Delaware, by steam vessels, and back from thence by the same route, is extremely agreeable. Everywhere the banks of the river give proof of extreme fertility; and its ample breadth, fringed on either side by numerous little villages, hamlets, and homesteads, is peculiarly pleasing.

Wilmington itself is seated on a smaller stream called the Christiana, which winds down by a serpentine line into the Delaware, but is navigable up to the town, the point of entrance to the smaller stream being indicated by a lighthouse. The town lies on an elevated ridge of land between the streams of the Christiana and the Brandywine, and commands, from its elevated position, a fine view of the surrounding country. It is the capital of the little State of Delaware, the smallest in the Union, excepting only Rhode Island.

The first settlers here were Swedes and Danes, under the auspices of the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, about 1627. In 1655, they fell under the authority of the Dutch, and were by them united to their settlement of New Amsterdam, under the title of the New Netherlands. In 1664, the whole was conquered by the British, and granted by Charles the Second to his brother James Duke of York, who in 1682 conveyed the Delaware settlements to William Penn. In 1776, when the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed in Philadelphia, a convention of representatives, chosen for the purpose,

formed a constitution, and it became a free and independent state, under the name of Delaware, a name originally derived from that of Lord De la Warr, one of the early settlers of Virginia, whose name is thus borne by the State, the river, and the bay. The whole length of the State, from north to south, is only 90 miles, and its breadth, from east to west, only 25.

It is divided into three counties—Kent, Newcastle, and Sussex ; and contained by the census of 1830, a population of 76,739 souls, of which there were 57,601 whites, 15,855 free-coloured persons, and 3,292 slaves. The principal productions of the State are grain and cattle, for which its generally level and highly fertile territory are well adapted.

The State has a school-fund of 170,000 dollars, out of which it maintains a public school in every district of four miles square ; though no district is allowed to have any share of the fund, that will not raise, by self-taxation, a sum equal to that which it requires from the State. In addition to these, there are excellent academies at the principal towns of Wilmington, Newcastle, Newark, Dover, Smyrna, Mulford, Lewistown, and Georgetown.

Small as this State is, it has manifested a great degree of enterprise. Besides the great rail-road, connecting Philadelphia and Baltimore, which runs chiefly through the State of Delaware, they have a canal, called the Delaware and Chesapeake canal, which connects the two great bays of that name. It is fourteen miles in length, sixty feet in breadth, and ten in depth, with a rise of eight feet only above the tide to its summit level. Its ample dimensions

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adapt it to the passage of the largest schooners ; and it is said to present the greatest excavation hitherto attempted in this country, the drains constructed for the passage of the waste water being nearly equal in magnitude to the largest canal in New York. At its entrance into the Delaware bay is a spacious harbour, 20 feet deep at low water ; it is capable of containing 200 vessels of a large class, and affording them shelter against the dangers of the bay at all seasons of the year. The work cost about a million and half of dollars ; towards which, a grant of 300,000 dollars was made by Congress, on the ground of its being a grand national work.

Wilmington contains a population of about 8,000 persons, who are mostly engaged in agriculture or trade. I had the good fortune to find settled here an officer in the United States' navy, Captain Gallagher, whom I had known thirty years ago, at Norfolk, in Virginia, when he was sailing-master of Commodore Decatur's frigate, the *United States*, and I was myself an officer on board an English ship then lying in Hampton Roads. He was snugly brought-up at a comfortable farm, which he called "The Anchorage ;" and in his personal appearance, manners, and taste, he constantly reminded me of Lord Althorp (now Earl Spencer,) in the delight with which he conversed of cattle, stock, and farming and grazing operations. I passed some very agreeable hours in the pleasant mansion of my early friend ; and our mutual reminiscences were full of interest—for he had seen a great deal of active service, and had been in several sharp actions in the American navy, with the British, sometimes among the victors,

and sometimes among the vanquished. I delivered a course of lectures on Palestine in Wilmington, which were well attended : and, as usual, this made me acquainted with some of the most agreeable families there.

Of places in the more immediate vicinity of Philadelphia, the Cemetery at Laurel Hill, holds a conspicuous place. The conviction is spreading far and wide, that the dead ought no longer to be buried in the midst of populous cities, but that portions of ground should be set apart for that purpose, remote from the habitations of the living. The beautiful cemetery of Pere la Chaise at Paris, if not among the earliest, is at least one of the finest examples of how much beauty, taste, and convenience may be united in such establishments. The larger towns of England are fast following that example ; and in America, they are treading in the same path. At Boston, Mount Auburn is said to be one of the most beautiful cemeteries in the country — at Baltimore, an exceedingly picturesque spot has been recently purchased for this purpose—and at Philadelphia, Laurel Hill has been for two years enclosed.

It is situated on the eastern bank of the Schuylkill, at a distance of four miles from Philadelphia, in a north-western direction beyond the Fair Mount water-works. The space enclosed is about twenty acres, of which the surface is sufficiently varied to admit of picturesque grouping in the tombs and trees—the greatest elevation being about 100 feet above high-water mark. The entrance is through a gateway, in the centre of a long Doric colonnade of 216 feet front, and in a pure and chaste style.

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On each side the gateway are lodges for the gravedigger and gardener. Within is a handsome cottage-residence for the superintendent, a Gothic chapel for the funeral service of the dead, a house for the accommodation of persons attending the funerals, and stabling for forty carriages—with a green-house intended to be used as a shelter for the delicate plants of summer, placed about the grounds, but requiring to be kept under cover during the winter. Several old trees existed on the ground before it was enclosed: and to these have since been added upwards of 1000 ornamental trees and shrubs, which will every year be increased.

The ground slopes down on the west towards the banks of the Schuylkill, the stream of which flows by it to the south; and as within the enclosed area are craggy rock and sloping lawn, with a finely undulated surface, nothing is wanted but time, and tasteful disposition of the grounds and monuments, to make it one of the most beautiful places near the city.

The Inclined Plane is another of the objects in the neighbourhood worth visiting. It is situated on the western bank of the Schuylkill, at a distance of about three miles from the city in a north-west direction, and forms part of the Great Western rail-road leading from Philadelphia to Columbia. On passing the bridge across the Schuylkill, which is 900 feet in length, covered with a roof, and enclosed on both sides, so as to furnish a complete shelter from sun and rain, the Inclined Plane rises from the western bank of the river in an angle of elevation which may be inferred from the length of the plane, which is 2,700 feet, and the perpendicular height of its termi-



nation, which is 180 feet. At the summit of the Plane are stationary engines, by which the trains of cars are drawn up, and the greatest safety is secured. The view of the upper portion of the Schuylkill from hence is beautifully picturesque: and the whole of the surrounding country, clothed in the exuberant foliage of the month of June, exhibits the highest degree of luxuriant fertility.

The village of Manayunk, at a distance of seven miles up the Schuylkill, is another beautiful spot for an excursion; the whole of the way up the river, from Fair Mount to the village, being characterized by the softest and most exquisite rural scenery, and the village itself being an interesting portion of the picture.

Up the Delaware, to the towns of Burlington, Bristol, and Bordentown, the seat of Joseph Buonaparte, is another interesting trip: and, indeed, in every direction around Philadelphia, the lover of the picturesque and the beautiful will find abundant sources of pleasure.

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## CHAP. XI.

Traits of national manners in America—Pugilistic contest in the Congress—Opinions of the press on this affair—Acquittal of the Speaker of Arkansas—Justification of murder—Mockery of the law—Robbers and cut-throats at New Orleans—Horrible act of Lynch law at St. Louis—Outrages attributable to Slavery—Address of Judge Fox to the grand jury—Attempted abolition riot at Boston—Scandalous scenes at weddings—Quack medicines and necromancy—Indications of mourning in families—Tranquillity of the streets of Philadelphia—Musical sounds of the chimney-sweeps—Grand evening party, without wine—Lectures delivered in Philadelphia—Public meetings for benevolent objects—Experiments of Dr. Mitchell on carbonic acid gas—Freezing of mercury—Cold at 102° below zero—Production and properties of carbonic acid snow—Practical application of Dr. Mitchell's experiments—Substitution of carbonic acid gas for steam—Comparison of cost and benefits—Plan to be tested by the Franklin Institute—Object and character of that association, improvements already effected by its labours—Progressive advance of American manufactures—Last visit to the State House of Philadelphia—Oppressive heat of the atmosphere—Fine view of the city and suburbs from the steeple.

On the subject of national manners, some public occurrences came to our knowledge in Philadelphia, which are sufficiently remarkable to deserve a special record, and the more so, as they happened in very different quarters of the Union—from New Orleans and Arkansas in the extreme south, to Boston in the north; and from St. Louis in the extreme west, to Philadelphia in the east, and Washington, the seat of government, in the centre. To begin at head-

quarters, the following is a faithfully abridged report from the proceedings of Congress on the 1st of June, 1838.

**"INDIAN HOSTILITY APPROPRIATION BILL.**

"Mr. Turney resumed the floor, and finished his speech in support of the bill.

"Mr. Bell rose, and, having complained of the attack of his colleague as unprovoked and unexpected, disclaimed any particular ill-will to him, on the ground that he was acting only as a conduit for the concocted and long-cherished malice of others, who had never thought proper to meet him personally. His colleague was acting as an instrument—as a tool, as the tool of tools.

"Here Mr. Turney (who sat immediately before Mr. Bell) rose, and, looking him in the face, said, 'it is false, it is false!'

"Mr. Bell thereupon struck at Mr. Turney in the face, and blows were for a short time exchanged between them.

"Mr. Turney repeated his assertion that it was false, and the attack was renewed.

"Great confusion ensued. Members rushed from their seats, and cries were heard for the 'Speaker,' and the 'Sergeant-at-arms!'

"Mr. Duncan said that such things must be the consequence of the abuse which was going on. One or two other members, while crowding to the spot, had some rather sharp verbal encounters.

"The Speaker hastily took the chair, called on the Sergeant-at-arms to preserve order, and read a British precedent, (see Jefferson's Manual, p. 132,) where the Speaker of the House of Commons had, in like manner, interposed to quell a disturbance which had arisen while the House was in Committee of the whole.

"Mr. Bouldin moved that the House adjourn. The motion was negatived without a count.

"Mr. Pennybacker said that it was a farce that the House should have rules, and refuse to enforce them. He then moved the following resolution:

"The Hon. H. L. Turney, and the Hon. John Bell having violated the privileges of this House by assaulting each other in the House, whilst sitting, it is therefore,

"Resolved, that the said H. L. Turney, and John Bell do apologize to the House for violating its privileges, and offending its dignity."

"Mr. Bell then rose and said he had been ready, at any moment, to acknowledge that he had violated the order of the House. He, however, appealed to the older members of the House to say whether it had been his habit to use unparliamentary language in that House. He regretted extremely that he had violated the decorum, and offended against the dignity of the House.

"Mr. Turney followed, but in a tone so low, that but little of what he said could be heard. He was understood to say that he had no intention to insult the House, or to violate its rules.

"The resolution was then laid on the table, and the House went back into committee of the whole.

These were the *facts* of the case, about which there seemed no dispute. The *opinions* entertained of the conduct of the members partook as of the spirit of party; but in the greatest number of instances, in which the editors of the public journals expressed an opinion on the subject, (for some were silent,) that opinion was condemnatory of both the offending parties. The following example may suffice. The Pennsylvania Herald says,

"Every man must regret and condemn the affray which took place in the House of Representatives on Friday between Mr. Bell and Mr. Turney. The Halls of Congress should not be made a gladiatorial arena, and the members of Congress should be taught to curb their passions and their tongues within the limits of Parliamentary decorum. Too much latitude has been given to debate on the floor of Congress—the necessary consequence of this is personal violence—for one is not less becoming the place than the other."

The other papers of Philadelphia equally condemned the conduct of both members; and the general sentiment of the press, northern and southern, seemed to run in this current, while the New York Gazette thought nothing short of the expulsion of both should satisfy the public. It says :—

“The offence of Messrs. Bell and Turney, is the grossest and most disgraceful that has yet occurred in our legislative annals, and should have been punished with a promptitude proportioned to its enormity. Both members should have been instantly expelled, and if they are not expelled, we may just as well abolish our form of Government, first as last. If the national legislature cannot even prevent its members from actual bruising matches on the floor of the House, while it is in actual session, there is little hope of going on with civil government any longer. We care not for the character of Mr. Bell, we care not for his politics—for both we have the highest respect. We care not for the provocation—and we know it to have been the most gross and the most wanton—we care for none of these considerations. The outrage should be punished by expulsion, and any lighter retribution will disgrace the whole house as deeply as these two members have disgraced themselves.”

Neither of these members, however, will lose their seats in Congress, from the conduct here described, nor much of the consideration, if any, of their respective political parties; because in this, as in the late duel case, party politics will cover the misconduct of each, as with an ample robe to hide all their defects. It is this, indeed, which, more than any other influence, as far as I have yet been able to discover, so blinds the judgment and perverts the understanding, as to make even intelligent men unable or unwilling to perceive anything right in their political opponents, or anything wrong in their

political friends, so that neither are to be trusted to pass judgment on the other.

About the period of this Washington affray in Congress, the following appeared in the Philadelphia Sentinel.

**"JUSTIFICATION OF MURDER.**—Our readers cannot have forgotten the outrageous murder that was committed in the House of Representatives of Arkansas, last winter, by Mr. Wilson, the Speaker, who came down from his chair, drew a bowie-knife, and slew a Major Anthony. The act not only stamped Wilson as a *murderer* and *villain*, who neither regarded the laws of God nor man, but it cast a deep stain upon our national character by its horrid barbarity; and being done at the time and in the place it was, and by one who had been chosen as the presiding officer of a body which was sitting to make laws to control and restrain the savage propensities of man, and to protect his person and property from violence. Viewing the act with the horror which it naturally excited, what will our readers say, and what will the civilized world say, on reading the following notice of Wilson's acquittal?

**"MOCKERY OF THE LAW.**—The trial of John Wilson, who, it may be remembered, officiated as Speaker of the Arkansas House of Representatives during the last legislative session of that State, and who, on a certain occasion, walked down from his chair, and slew Major T. T. Anthony, with a bowie-knife, on the floor of the House, took place a few days ago. The verdict of the Jury was—*'Not guilty of murder, but excusable homicide.'*—*Louisville Journal.*"

Notwithstanding, however, the strong expressions of condemnation used by the newspapers near the scene of action, the acquittal of the Speaker of the Arkansas legislature excited no more sensation among the community at Philadelphia, than the first announcement of the fact did at New York, where I was staying when it occurred. The truth is, the

American public generally are not sensibly alive to these evils, and therefore manifest but little indignation at their occurrence, or desire to effect their removal ; and until that is the case, it is to be feared that they will continue.

The following articles are from the Philadelphia papers of May, under the heads of intelligence from the South and West.

"NEW ORLEANS, May 1, 1838.—Never was a city more infested by robbers, cut-throats, and incendiaries, than New Orleans at this time. The villains of all the world appear to have congregated here, and to carry on their works of infamy with the greatest impunity.

"About one o'clock this morning the cabin of the schooner *Louisana*, Captain Auld, ready to sail for Texas, was entered by a white villain ; he was discovered before he had succeeded in stealing any article, and was pursued by the mate to the deck of the vessel ; here a scuffle ensued, when the ruffian drew a dirk, and severely, if not dangerously, stabbed the mate in several places, and made his escape."—*Courier*.

"ST. LOUIS, May 1.—The particulars of the drowning of a negro, named Tom, cook on board the steamboat *Pawnee*, on her passage up from New Orleans to this place, are as near the facts as we have been able to gather them. On Friday night, about 10 o'clock, a deaf and dumb German girl was found in the store-room with Tom. The door was locked, and at first Tom denied she was there.—The girl's father came, Tom unlocked the door, and the girl was found secreted in the room behind a barrel. Tom was accused of having used violence to the girl, but how she came there did not very clearly appear. The captain was not informed of this during the night. The next morning some four or five of the deck-passengers spoke to the captain about it ; this was near breakfast time. He heard their statements and informed them that the negro should be safely kept until they reached St. Louis, when the matter should be examined, and if guilty he should be punished



by law. Here the matter seemed to end; the captain after breakfast returned on deck, passed the cook's room and returned up to his own room; immediately after he left the deck, a number of the deck-passengers rushed upon the negro, bound his arms behind his back, and carried him forward to the bow of the boat. A voice cried out, "throw him overboard," and was responded to from every quarter of the deck—and in an instant he was plunged into the river. The captain hearing the noise, rushed out in time to see the negro float by. The engine was stopped immediately. This occurred opposite the town of Liberty. Several men on shore seeing the negro thrown overboard, pushed from shore in a yawl and arrived nearly in reaching-distance of the negro as he sunk for the last time. The whole scene of tying him, and throwing him overboard, scarcely occupied ten minutes, and was so precipitate that the officers were unable to interfere in time to save him."

If this individual had been a white man, and especially a wealthy one, no one would have dared to propose such a summary mode of punishment, for such an imputed offence; though for the much greater offence of being an "abolitionist," and endeavouring to rescue the African race from their present misery and degradation, Lynch-law is still deemed the best law, and no whiteness of complexion or extent of wealth will save a man from the risk of its application to himself, if he but once stirs up the vindictive feelings of those to whom his efforts and his opinions are unpalatable. There are some, indeed, who contend, that this state of manners in America is in no degree connected with the existence of Slavery, though to me it has always appeared to be its direct and almost inevitable consequence. I have often hesitated to express this opinion, lest it should be thought unfounded and ill-considered; but in the Public Ledger of Philadelphia, for May 4th, 1838,

the same opinion is boldly avowed by a native-born American editor, and may thus be given with safety. It is as follows:—

“The express mail yesterday was unusually dull. Murders, however, are as plenty as broken banks, and yet the demand for hemp has not increased.—*Mobile Examiner*, April 24.

“*Why* has not the demand for hemp increased? Because the laws are not enforced. More murders are committed in the slave-holding States in one year, than in all Italy in five; though the population of the latter is five times greater than the white population of the former. And these Southern murders are as strongly characterized as the Italian, by a dastardly spirit; for the *dirk* of the ‘chivalrous South’ is nothing more nor less than the infamous *stiletto* of Italy. This is not because the Southern people are naturally worse than any other people. They are precisely what all people would be with the same institutions, who permitted their laws to sleep.

“Without interfering with Slavery as a political question between the free and slave States of this Union, we shall exercise our right to speak of it *in the abstract* as an institution. In this view of it, we insist that the ferocity which characterizes the South and Southwest, originates in Slavery. When a body of men are accustomed from boyhood, to trample upon the rights of another body, we cannot expect from them the utmost respect for the rights of each other. In governing slaves, fierce passions will be let loose; and if not bridled towards inferiors, they will not be towards equals. Another consequence of Slavery is want of education; for we cannot expect to find schools among a planting population, thinly scattered over a large surface. How can a school for white children exist in the *country* of Louisiana or Mississippi, when each white family is five or ten miles distant from any other white family?

“In the Spanish and French colonies, Slavery was always less burdensome, and the white population more orderly, than in the British, because controlled by a strong government in the mother country. Besides this, notwithstanding all that English historians have said about Spanish cruelty to the Indians and negroes, the

Anglo-Saxon race have invariably been the most cruel of all Europeans to foreign enemies or subjects. For the first of these reasons, Slavery has always been worse in the United States than even in the British colonies. Thus we find the Anglo Saxon race, the most energetic and the most tyrannical of all, placed in the South in the position of masters over slaves, with no strong government to controul them; and we consequently find it, as we should find it at the free north or the west under similar circumstances, in a state of ferocious insubordination.

“What is the remedy? A despotism that would govern all with a strong hand, or a determination of the majority to enforce the laws. Napoleon cleared Italy of assassins, by salutary severity; for he very sagaciously thought that hanging them by dozens, would save honest people by thousands. But as the South are not yet prepared for despotism, we suggest to all of its considerate citizens, the necessity of uniting in a determination to enforce the laws. Therefore, with a single eye to their own good, we ask the Southern people to lay aside their rifles, pistols and stiletos, to rely for security upon laws, and to punish unrelentingly every man who violates them. They talk of *honour, courage and patriotism*. True honour is obedience to the laws. True courage is to fight *only* for the community. True patriotism is to render their country the abode of virtue, plenty, peace and security.”

The paper from which the above is taken, circulates upwards of 30,000 copies daily, being what is called a penny paper, but costing only one cent, or about a halfpenny per number; and its editors are intelligent fearless writers, holding a strict neutrality in party politics, and directing their attention chiefly to the reformation of social and moral disorders; such sentiments as these, therefore, so well expressed, and so widely circulated, cannot fail to make an impression on the public mind.

The Bench, too, has lent its powerful aid to that of the press, in stamping, with deserved opprobrium,

this general disregard to the authority of the law, which seems to be so widely spread over every part of the Union, and to evince itself in such a variety of forms; and the charges of the judges, first pronounced from the bench, and then repeated by a thousand newspapers of every shade of politics, must bring the subject home to the hearts and minds of the reflecting part of the community. The following is one example out of many, quoted from the Philadelphia Sentinel, of the beginning of June.

“THE LATE MOB.—Judge Fox, holding a court at Montgomery county, deemed it his duty, in charging the grand jury, to speak of the late outrage of the mob in this city, and the burning of the Pennsylvania Hall; and he has done so in a tone which ought to be used by every judge upon the bench, every public press in the country, and by every citizen who has the least regard for the honour of his country, or the least desire for the perpetuity of our free institutions. Nothing can be more fearfully true than that ‘the same disposition that induces resistance to the officers, whose duty it is to execute the law, will incite the same description of persons to resist or punish the judge on the bench who may do his duty in defiance of popular excitement.’ The following is the language of the judge:—

“‘That an extraordinary disposition to set at naught the law, and the legal power of its officers, exists throughout our country, from one extremity to the other, cannot be doubted by any one who pays the slightest attention to the events of the times. No where, and at no time, has this disposition manifested itself in a more alarming shape, than in the late riotous proceedings in the great city of our state. There, deliberately, and with the design well-known, in the presence, we may say, of the whole people, a large building was set on fire by a mob, and burned to the ground. The sheriff of the county, and the mayor of the city, attempted to interfere to prevent the crime and arrest the criminals. But not an arm was raised to assist them—they were beaten and driven off,

and thus high crime was consummated with the most p<sup>r</sup> <sup>t</sup> impu-  
nity.

“ ‘ So long as acts like these are perpetrated by the very young, the indiscreet, the vicious, and the ignorant, there is little cause of apprehension for the safety of our institutions, provided that those from whose age, general respectability, and stake in society, we have a right to expect prudence and foresight, frown upon such outrages, and give, in time of need, efficient support to the laws and its officers. But when, as in the present case, all barriers are broken down, and the power of the law is prostrated by the connivance and countenance of all ages, ranks, and conditions, we must fear that the disease has reached the vitals of society ; and, unless prompt and effectual remedies are supplied, a speedy and violent dissolution must take place.

“ ‘ To-day, the excuse for the outrage against the law is, that the building burned was an abolition hall, in which proceedings were had and principles disseminated, destructive to our institutions, and abhorrent to the feelings of the great body of the community. In Boston, a school-house was burned by the mob because it was a Roman Catholic institution, and they feared the advancement of popery. Such excuses for such acts, are, in effect, but avowals that the laws shall be suspended and the mob govern ; when, even the majority of those who have the power, whether a majority or not, shall choose that it be so. Society for the time is dissolved, and the law of the strongest prevails. To-day this law may be applied to abolition halls and abolitionists, but to-morrow, it may please the mob to apply it to a Quaker meeting-house and to Quakers, to Presbyterians, or Lutherans, or Menonists, or to whomsoever, or whatsoever the prejudice or passion of the moment direct inconsiderate fury.

“ ‘ The general disposition evinced in the case which has called forth these remarks, to resist, or at least, not to support, when assailed, the public officers in their attempts to preserve the public peace, is not the least alarming evidence of the diseased state of the public mind. The same disposition that induces resistance to the officers, whose duty it is to execute the law, will incite the same disposition of persons to resist or punish the judge on the bench,

who may dare to do his duty in defiance of popular excitement. It appears to me that there is but a step from the one to the other, and that that step may be fatal to liberty!"

The agitation at Boston about the same period as this outbreak at Philadelphia, originated in the same spirit of hatred to the abolitionists. It appears that a new place of worship was to be opened in Boston, in which there was to be no formal separation of the white and coloured worshippers who might frequent it. Throughout the United States, such is the strong prejudice against the coloured race, that these are made to sit in a gallery by themselves, entirely apart from the whites; and when the sacrament of the Lord's supper is administered to them, it is done at a separate table. Though this is the case generally, there are occasional exceptions to the rule. In New York, for instance, at the Tabernacle, the Chatham Street chapel, and one or two others, this distinction and separation is not enforced; but, for this very reason, no white persons, except abolitionists, attend these places of worship. At Boston, however, the enemies of abolition determined, if possible, to prevent the opening of this new church, or if opened, resolved on pulling or burning it down. But the previous experience of the Boston community had made them more cautious than their brethren in Philadelphia; and by a timely application to the proper authorities, they had an armed body of militia in readiness on the spot, and the intended perpetrators of the outrage were awed from their design.

The other incident which was made public in the newspapers, as a trait of American manners in the sober and orderly North, is not of so serious a

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nature as any of the preceding ; but it is even more difficult to account for, as there is nothing of politics, or religion, or slavery, that can enter into it in the slightest degree ; and to attribute it to that sort of animal excitement which exuberant spirits often create in the lower orders of the Irish, till it makes them run riot with fun, would be wholly inconsistent with the general notion of starched and primitive demeanour which the people of Massachusetts, especially, have the reputation of retaining from their puritan and pilgrim ancestors. Whatever be the causes, here are the facts, as taken from the Philadelphia Inquirer of the 5th of June, in quoting two papers from the North :—

“ WEDDING SCENES.—The Northampton Courier of a late date says—‘ Quite a scene of disorder, we are told, occurred at the celebration of the nuptial ceremonies at the Episcopal church, on the week before last, in this town. An immense throng of people, of both sexes, gathered there previous to the opening of the door, and the way in which the rush was made, and the frail materials comprising ladies’ dresses, used up, was an admonition.’ ”

“ The Boston Transcript copies the above, and adds—‘ Similar scenes, we regret to say, are not uncommon in this city, and are most disgraceful to the *females* who act them. On a recent celebration of a marriage at Grace-church, the women behaved abominably. Not content with bursting open the doors, and taking the church by storm, nearly two hours before the bridal party appeared, they carried off an entire coat of fresh paint from the gallery, regardless of the cost of silks and challys to them or their sponsors—or of the cost of white lead and oil to the wardens and vestry.—We wish we were not compelled to add, regardless also of the decent proprieties of feminine delicacy.’ ”

It may be mentioned, as belonging to the state of manners and society in America, that amidst all the



education and institutions for promoting useful knowledge, there is, perhaps, no country in the world where so much delusion, as to the virtues of quack medicines, exists as here. Fortunes are made in the shortest space of time by men who invent a new pill or new potion; and there are, at least, twenty striking examples of this in the city of Philadelphia alone, though there are upwards of 400 regularly educated and practising physicians there. In the fifteen or twenty newspapers, daily and weekly, published in the city, more than half the advertisements are of quack medicines; whole pages being often filled with the announcements of rival pretenders, each assuming his own to be the true panacea, and a cure for every disease with which the human frame can be afflicted. In a smaller way, necromancy comes in for its share, as will be seen from the following announcement, cut out from a Philadelphia paper of June, 1838 :—

“CARD—Madame Duser, thankful for past favours, respectfully begs leave to inform the ladies and gentlemen of Philadelphia, that she has *removed* from her former residence to a more commodious dwelling, No. 5, Lyndall's Alley, between Locust and Walnut, and Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets—where she will be happy to solve all questions relative to journeys, lawsuits, marriages, dreams, losses, gains, and all lawful business, sickness and death.”

Among the minor peculiarities of Philadelphia, we noticed the practice of tying a small band or streamer of black crape to the handle of the front door, where the inmates of the houses were in mourning. It is the custom with those who have lost any member of their family by death, not to receive visits of ceremony or morning calls, while they are in mourning, or to go out to parties during the same

period ; and this custom of hanging out the crape at the door is useful as an indication to those who call on mere visits of ceremony, that the parties will not see company.

It would be a great improvement if this custom could be carried a single step further, namely, by families hanging out at the door a streamer of white, or red, or any other colour, to denote that they were not at home, or not accessible to visitors ; as this would save many an unnecessary knock and ring, many a weary trudging up and down stairs to the servants, and many a mortification at having knocked and rung and called in vain. Here at Philadelphia, as at New York and Baltimore, scarcely any of the residents put their addresses on their cards ; so that what with the difficulty of hunting them out in the Directory or elsewhere, and the number of visits made to persons who are either not at home, or too much engaged to see visitors, the days and hours lost in the year is really such a tax upon strangers, as to call loudly for reform.

The air of tranquillity which reigns through the streets of Philadelphia, and which, next to the perfect symmetry and shady borders of its tree-fringed streets, is its most striking characteristic, is never disturbed by the heavy rumbling waggons which shake the foundations of an English town, nor by the rattling of stage-coaches, and twanging of bugles and horns, such as are heard at Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and all the great provincial cities at home—the reason of this being, that nearly all the inlets and outlets of Philadelphia are by steam-boat and rail-road.

Neither are there heard those vociferous, and unintelligible cries, which stun the ear in the streets of London ; as the abundance and excellence of the markets render it unnecessary to cry commodities about the streets. The only exception to this, that I remember, is the musical song of the chimney-sweep, who here, as at New York, ranges the street at certain hours of the day, and offers his services, not by the cry of "sweep ! sweep !" or "soot-ho !" but by a kind of vocal voluntary, without words, and without any particular air, but a sort of melodious succession of monosyllabic vocal sounds, like the choruses of the Swiss peasants, or the hunters of the Alps. This would be an improvement worth introducing into England, as much so as the musical cheers introduced at some of our public dinners, in lieu of their boisterous predecessor, the "hip, hip, hip, hurrah."

This reminds me, by contrast, of one of the quietest, most elegant, and most agreeable parties at which I was present in Philadelphia. It was at the splendid mansion of Mr. Matthew Newkirk, the President of the City Temperance Society, who presided at the great Festival given to me in the Arch Street theatre, by the friends of Temperance, on my first passing through Philadelphia in February last. This party was assembled in compliment to the popular senator, Henry Clay, who was here from Washington for a few days ; and being the Whig candidate for the presidency, Mr. Newkirk, at whose house he stopped, was anxious to gather round him all the most respectable electors of the city. It was in truth a political, and even an electioneering party ; and, according to all

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established usage, it might have been expected to be a noisy and an intemperate one. Mr. Newkirk, however, while he provided every luxury and delicacy in food and refreshment, that money could procure, or culinary and confectionary skill prepare, introduced no intoxicating drinks, and not a drop of wine, or any other kind of stimulating beverage, was to be seen.

It was the first experiment of the kind that had ever been tried in Philadelphia; but though a bold, it was a noble, and a most successful one. Every person present spoke loudly in praise of the moral courage which the act evinced; and none was more decided in its eulogy than Mr. Clay, who, though as fond of conviviality as most public men of his standing and popularity, admitted that such parties as these were especially desirable, to avoid the thousand nameless inconveniences, and often graver evils, that spring from large and miscellaneous crowds called together, having wine placed before them, of which some few are sure to drink too freely, and those few will often disturb the harmony of the whole. The party retired before midnight; and the satisfaction of all seemed unbroken and complete.

During our stay in Philadelphia, which extended to eight weeks, I delivered three courses of lectures at the Masonic Hall and at the Musical Fund Hall, on Egypt and Palestine; two of the courses being in the evening at eight o'clock, and one in the afternoon at half-past four, intended chiefly for the accommodation of young students at the University, and elder pupils at schools, as the later hours were inconvenient to these. Each of the courses was

attended by large audiences, increasing gradually from 500 to upwards of 1,000 in number ; and the satisfaction appeared to be general in both cases. These labours had the effect of bringing me acquainted with the most intelligent and agreeable families of the city, who voluntarily sought my acquaintance, and tendered their hospitalities to myself and my family.

Among these I cannot refrain from naming, especially, Mr. Nicholas Biddle, the President of the United States Bank, because he appeared to me to present the most perfect specimen of an American gentleman that I had yet seen in the United States. To a mind of great force and originality, he added the advantage of an excellent education, highly polished manners, great urbanity, and a perfect freedom from all those peculiarities which, more or less, mark the citizens of every class in this country. His early residence in Europe, and employment in a diplomatic station, was no doubt in part the cause of this exemption from national characteristics ; yet while his private hospitalities were conducted in the best possible European taste, and in a style that the most fastidious would admire—his patriotism, frankness, simplicity, and application to business, were thoroughly American, and made him altogether one of the most agreeable, as he is unquestionably one of the most accomplished members of the community.

During my stay in Philadelphia I was also in frequent request to assist at various public meetings, for the promotion of religious and benevolent objects ; and I was too happy to render that assistance wherever practicable, although by permitting

my zeal to outrun my strength, I suffered a severe illness of a fortnight's confinement to my room, which threw me back more than a month in time and strength. Among these meetings were several in connexion with temperance : one for the improvement of the condition of seamen ; one for the promotion of Sunday-school education ; one for facilitating the spread of religious tracts through the empire of China ; one for the advocacy of the Peace Society ; and several others of a more general nature ; — the active spirit of benevolence by which the city is peculiarly characterized, evincing itself in a great number and variety of channels, for the alleviation of misery, and the promotion of happiness at home and abroad.

Toward the close of our stay, I had an opportunity of attending one of the chemical classes of my friend, Dr. Mitchell, and witnessing there a most interesting experiment, for the rendering carbonic acid gas solid, and for producing by it a degree of cold, extending to  $102^{\circ}$  degrees below zero, on the scale of Fahrenheit's thermometer. The materials, first confined in a strong iron receiver, were, super-carbonate of soda and sulphuric acid, in separate divisions : the whole was then powerfully shaken, so as to be well mixed or incorporated, and this operation continually evolved the gas, till the whole vessel was filled with it in a highly condensed state.

An instrument, not unlike a common tinder-box, as it is used in England, but about twice the size, and with a small tube of inlet passing through its sides, was then fixed by this tube to a pipe from the receiver. The inside of this box was so constructed

as to make the gas injected into it fly round in a series of constantly contracting circles, which was effected by projecting pieces of tin, at different angles, fastened around the sides of the interior. The gas being then let out by a valve, entered this box from the receiver, making as loud a hissing noise as the escape of steam by the safety-valve of a large boiler, and in about three or four seconds the emission of the gas was stopped.

The box was then taken off from the receiver and its cover opened, when it was found to be filled with a milk-white substance, in appearance like snow, but in consistence like a highly-wrought froth, approaching to a light paste. It was surrounded with a thin blue vapour like smoke, and was so intensely cold, that the sensation of touch to the fingers was like that of burning; and the feeling was more like that of heat than cold. The slightest particle of it, dropped on the back of the hand, and suffered to remain there, occasioned a blistering of the skin, just like a scald; and some of the students of the class who attempted to hold it in their fingers, were obliged to let it drop as if it were red-hot iron.

Some liquid mercury, or quicksilver, was then dropped into a mass of this "carbonic acid snow," as it was called, mixed with ether, upon which it instantly froze, and being taken out in a solid mass, it was found to be malleable into thin sheets under the hammer, and capable of being cut up like lead, with a knife or large scissors. As it became less cold it grew more brittle, and then, when pressed strongly by the thumb or finger against a solid substance, it was



found to burst under the pressure, with a report or explosion like the percussion powder.

A small piece of this carbonic acid snow was placed on the surface of water, where it ran round by an apparently spontaneous motion, and gave out a thin blue vapour like smoke. Another piece was placed under the water, and kept beneath it, when it emitted gas in an immense stream of air-bubbles, rushing from the bottom to the top, thus returning, in short, from its solid to its original gaseous condition. Some of the snow was then mingled with the well-known "freezing-mixture," and by stirring these both together, a degree of intense cold was produced, extending to  $102^{\circ}$  below zero, and there remaining for a period of ten or fifteen minutes; though the weather was extremely hot, the thermometer standing at  $94^{\circ}$  in the shade, in the coolest parts of Philadelphia, and being at least  $90^{\circ}$  in the lecture-room itself.

The practical application of this discovery to the propelling of engines in lieu of steam, was then exhibited to us. A model of an engine of the ordinary kind now in use for mines, manufactories, and steamships, was placed on the table before the lecturer. A metal tube was then screwed on to the pipe and valve of the receiver, in which the condensed carbonic acid gas was contained, and the other end of the tube through which the gas was to escape, when let into it from the receiver, was applied to the wheel of the model engine; the gas was then let out, and the rushing torrent of it was such as that it propelled the engine-wheel with a velocity which rendered its revolutions invisible, from their speed, making the

wheel appear stationary, though in a trembling or vibratory condition, and rendering all perception of the parts of the wheel quite impossible till the gaseous stream which gave the impetus was withdrawn.

Dr. Mitchell expressed his belief that this power might be made to supersede entirely the use of steam and fuel in navigation, and thus overcome the greatest difficulty which has yet impeded long voyages; he thought it might effect the same salutary change in manufactories where engines are used, so as to remove the greatest nuisance, perhaps, of all manufacturing towns—the immense quantities of smoke which darken the atmosphere, and destroy the cleanliness of places, persons, raiment, and dwellings. He founded his belief on the expansive power of this gas when brought into a highly condensed state such as we saw it, and the practicability of bringing this power to act upon engines of any size by land or by sea. For the latter purpose he suggests the use of iron tanks, made with the requisite degree of strength, to act as receivers; these being fitted to a ship's bottom, along the keelson and the inner floor of the hold, as the iron water-tanks of ships of war are at present, may be placed on board vessels intending to be propelled by engines, in such quantities as the length of the voyage may require; communications from these tanks, by tubes of adequate size and strength, would then have to be made to the engines, and placed under the complete control of the engineer, as the steam-power is at present. The expansive power of the condensed gas, and its pressure outward, or tendency to escape, being the same in its nature with steam, but greater in degree, the application and direction of this power

would effect all that steam now does, and thus supersede the use of fuel, with its inconveniences and accidents, entirely.

In reference to the expense, Dr. Mitchell had made such calculations as to satisfy him, that it would be cheaper than the present materials of steam navigation. The Great Western steamer, in coming from London to New York, actually consumed 600 tons of coal, which, at the lowest possible estimate, could not cost less than £1000 sterling, or 5000 dollars. But as it was necessary to provide for a longer voyage than that actually performed, in case of accident or delay, no less a quantity than 800 tons were taken on board, and consequently 800 tons of space were wholly lost, or rendered unproductive, by its appropriation to fuel. The expense of the requisite quantity of gas for such a voyage, including all the fittings, would not, he thought, exceed that of the coals and requisite machinery; and the saving of the space, for freight, would be a source of considerable profit: while the avoidance of the heat and smoke, inseparable from fuel and steam, the absence of boilers and chimnies, and the safety from accidents of bursting and taking fire, would be all such high recommendations to passengers, that none would venture to embark in steam ships, while those propelled by carbonic acid gas were available.

The Franklin Institute, of which a slight mention only is made in a preceding page, corresponds pretty nearly with the London Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Manufactures, or at least more nearly resembles that institution than any other I remember. Its avowed design is "the promotion and

encouragement of manufactures, and the mechanic and useful arts, by the establishment of popular lectures on the sciences connected with them ; by the formation of a cabinet of models and minerals, and a library ; by offering premiums on all subjects deemed worthy of encouragement ; by examining all new inventions submitted to them ; and by such other means as they may deem expedient."

In conformity with this design, it is their custom every year to invite all persons who have produced any manufactures or models which they deem worthy of public inspection, to place them under their care for that purpose : and in the month of October, an annual Exhibition of all these takes place at the Masonic Hall in Philadelphia. Already have fourteen such annual exhibitions been held, affording great pleasure to the community, by the variety of interesting objects there for the first time brought to their notice, and producing great benefit to the manufacturing interests, by the stimulus and rivalry excited, to supply the best productions : the result of which is to improve progressively the skill and taste of the workmen in every branch of business.

According to fixed rules of the Institute, previously made known, certain premiums, in gold and silver medals, are awarded to the most successful among the producers of the articles sent for exhibition ; the funds for this purpose being provided, partly from the subscriptions of members, partly from the payments for admission to the exhibitions, and partly by occasional grants from the general government. In the course of each exhibition, from 40 to 50,000 persons, residents of the city, and strangers, visit it, and

the greatest interest is said to be manifested by all classes in the continued improvement of American manufactures.

Among these may be mentioned almost every description of cotton, silk, and woollen fabrics, especially broad cloths, and carpets, the latter of which are equal in appearance and beauty of pattern to English; hardware in iron and steel; cutlery, and surgical instruments; silver and plated goods, glassware, and porcelain; stoves and grates, lamps and chandeliers, cabinet ware, and musical instruments; in all of which, such progressive improvement is manifest every year, as to make it certain that they have already attained to equal perfection with the oldest nations of Europe in many articles; and that, before many years elapse, they will be inferior to none in their general manufactures.

In their capacity of examiners of new inventions, the directors have the reputation of conducting their investigations with skill, and pronouncing their judgment with impartiality; and, therefore, great public confidence is placed in the soundness of their opinions, when publicly and deliberately pronounced on any invention submitted to their verdict; and both in this respect, and in that of awarding premiums, their decision has rarely been impeached by disinterested parties.

Such an institution as this might be advantageously introduced into the large towns of every civilized country, and none would benefit more from their general adoption than England. The Polytechnic Society of Cornwall is a recent and successful example of the benefits to be derived by such associations;

and the good they do in America might be effected to an equal extent in every other nation.

One of our last visits in Philadelphia was to the steeple of the State House, to enjoy a parting view of the city and its environs, from that elevation, about 100 feet above the general level, the extreme of the spire reaching 70 feet higher than this.

The fresh breeze that blew here, and the comparatively cool temperature which it brought with it, was extremely refreshing, as the heat of the atmosphere had been intense for the preceding fortnight. In many places the thermometer had stood at  $98^{\circ}$  in the shade, and even in the night, it seldom went below  $86^{\circ}$ , so that the effect on the system was oppressive. Gentlemen were seen in the streets with white jackets and trousers, and straw hats, as in the West Indies, and many carried umbrellas to shield them from the sun. Ice was in great request: fortunately the large supply of it in the winter made it cheap and accessible to all classes, and it was a luxury of the highest kind. At this slight elevation from the general level, the diminution of heat was considerable, and the freshness of the breeze made it perfectly delicious.

We enjoyed from hence a commanding prospect of the whole city and surrounding country, as far as the heights of Brandywine, where the celebrated battle of that name was fought in the revolutionary war, not far from Wilmington. The windings of the Delaware were visible to the extent of many miles above and below the town, though the shores of the river looked very bare of shipping, the decline in their number being attributed by many to

the fact that the river is so frozen as to be inaccessible to ships for several months in the winter, while the harbour of New York, so much nearer to the sea, is open all the year round. The Almshouse on the opposite bank of the Schuylkill, the Marine Asylum, the Fair Mount water-works, the Penitentiary, the Girard College, and nearly all the public places of note, are distinctly visible from this elevation; while the rich and luxuriant foliage of the trees in Independence and Washington Squares, immediately beneath this edifice, the noble wood in the grounds of the Pennsylvania Hospital, and the fine green avenues of verdure that line the principal streets of the city in every direction, made up a picture of great variety and beauty.

On descending from the steeple, we took our last look at the room in which the Declaration of Independence of the United States was signed, on the 4th of July, 1776, when the great bell of the State House fulfilled the injunction of the motto—cast on it before it was sent out from England, “Proclaim liberty throughout the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof,” from Leviticus, chap. xxv. v. 10. This bell, though no longer used for general purposes, still occupies the place in which it was originally hung, and, like the great bell of St. Paul’s, in London, is used only on very special occasions; such as the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the visit of any distinguished personage,—Lafayette, for instance, on whose arrival, at his last visit, it called the people together to do him honour, as one of the heroes of the revolutionary war; and it will, no



doubt, be preserved as a national treasure for centuries yet to come. In the Declaration room, as it is called, we saw a beautiful full-length portrait of William Penn, in his simple Quaker garb, with a countenance full of benevolence, holding in his hand a scroll, containing the treaty with the Indians for the sale of their lands; and in the back ground was placed the great elm-tree under which the treaty was agreed to, with several Indian chiefs in their native costume. A full-length portrait of Gen. Lafayette, taken during his last visit to America, served as a companion to this, and a small bust portrait of Washington was placed between; while at the opposite end of the room, facing the spectators as they enter, is a fine full-length statue of this idol of all American hearts, done in wood, by Rush, executed with great spirit, and said to be a most faithful copy of the great original. It stands on a pedestal, on which is the following inscription, written in letters of gold:—"First in war—first in peace—and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

Thus terminated our last day's stay in Philadelphia. On the whole, we had great reason to be pleased with our sojourn in this beautiful city. The regularity of its plan, the beauty of its public buildings, the foliage of its streets and squares, the delightful rides and drives of its environs, the great success of my public labours, uninterrupted by a single drawback, and the private hospitalities and kindnesses received from families and individuals, whose acquaintance ripened into friendship before we parted, were all calculated to make us remember

Philadelphia, and its society, with more than ordinary pleasure; while the spirit of its benevolent institutions diffused an atmosphere of so much moral purity over all, that we felt a desire to breathe it again ourselves, and spread its influence as far and wide as possible.

VOL. II.

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## CHAP. XII.

Departure from Philadelphia—Description of the bustle of embarking—Beautiful scenery of the Delaware—Passage by Burlington and Bristol—Landing at Bordentown—Journey to Amboy by rail-road—Fertility of the State of New Jersey—Embarkation at Amboy in steam-boat—Passage along the Straits of Staten Island—Elizabeth-town, Newark, and Brighton—Opening of the extensive bay of New York—Splendid marine prospect from the harbour—Second impressions on approach to the city—Short stay and second illness at New York—Visit to the Great Western steamer from England.

ON the morning of Saturday, the 16th of June, we left Philadelphia for New York; and at the early hour of half-past five embarked on board the steam-boat, at the Chesnut Street Wharf. The scene was a very animated one; not less than 500 passengers were in motion on the deck of the boat, in the cabins below, and on the wharf at which she was lying. As few of these came without one friend to see them off, and some had two or three, another 500 at least was produced by this class; and of coachmen, carmen, porters, and servants in attendance, on the adjoining shore, there was at least an equal number. Mingled with all these were news-boys, with early copies of the morning papers; peripatetic confectioners and fruiterers, with baskets of their several commodities; a harper with his delicate strains of music for the ladies' cabin; and a Scotch piper, with his bagpipes,

for the upper deck, where the gentlemen were mostly congregated. In the boat itself was a barber's shop, for those who had been too much hurried to prepare their toilette before embarking; a public bar—at which were sold brandy, rum, wine, and bitters, of which a great many more partook than I had expected; a captain's counting-house, at which all payments of passage-money were made; a post-office for letters, a news-room for the public papers; and besides all this, very spacious accommodations for breakfasting, lounging, and reading; the ladies, and the gentlemen accompanying them, having the after-cabin devoted to their use; but those gentlemen who were so unfortunate as not to have ladies with them, were confined to the fore-cabin only.

We left the wharf at six o'clock, with many a waving of handkerchiefs and kissing of hands from the boat and from the shore, as if the voyage were to be a very long one, and the parting final, which to some, perhaps, it might have really been; and soon after getting under weigh we were summoned to breakfast, which was obliged to be served at two separate hours, half-past six and half-past seven, as the only method of ensuring space and comfort for all. The breakfast was as ample and as excellent as the most fastidious could desire; and the utmost decorum and propriety prevailed during its enjoyment, as far as we could observe, with great mutual civility, and a desire to assist and please among the passengers; more so, I think, than is usual in English steam-boats of a similar description. This was the more agreeable to us to witness, as we had been taught by American persons themselves, to anticipate great rudeness,

hurry, and confusion in steam-boat meals ; this, however, was perfectly well conducted.

Our route to New York from hence, was to ascend the river Delaware, for about thirty miles ; then land at Bordentown, and proceed from thence by railroad another thirty miles to Amboy ; and embarking there in another steam-boat, complete the trip by another forty miles of navigation to New York ; the distance of one hundred miles, or thereabout, including all the transfers and stoppages, being accomplished in seven hours and a quarter, or nearly at the rate of fourteen miles an hour all the way.

The passage up the river Delaware was extremely agreeable. Abreast of the city of Philadelphia, the river exceeds a mile in width, nor does this sensibly diminish for a distance of 15 or 20 miles up the stream, when it begins to contract, but retains a breadth of half a mile, at least, up to the point of debarkation. On both sides, the banks presented a charming appearance, for though not much variegated by elevation or depression of surface, the exuberant fertility that everywhere met the eye—the rich green pastures, abundant wood, and constant succession of pretty retreats, overhanging the very margin of the stream, marked it out as the land of plenty, in which the bounty of nature was spread out with a lavish hand, and where no one need want for food, raiment, and shelter, who would be honest and industrious.

In the course of our passage up the river, we saw on the western bank the country seat of Mr. Nicholas Biddle, the president of the United States' bank, which presents a chaste Doric front, with portico

and pediment, after a design by Mr. Walter, the architect of the Girard college, and surrounded as it is by a judicious admixture of shrubbery and lawn, it produces a very pleasing effect.

Soon after, about nine o'clock, or three hours after leaving Philadelphia, we arrived at Burlington and Bristol, two pretty towns that occupy the opposite banks of the Delaware—Burlington being on the eastern bank, and in the State of New Jersey—and Bristol being on the western bank, and in the State of Pennsylvania; the river being the boundary line which separates these two States from each other.

Burlington, which is the largest of the two, contains a population of from 5 to 6,000 persons. It was originally founded by Quakers, and continues to be a favourite place of retirement with the members of that body. It is, consequently, regular in its plan, neat in all its arrangements, and perfectly clean and orderly in its condition; these being the uniform results of Quaker influence or Quaker management. It was mentioned to me as a saying current among this body of people, that New York was the place to make money—Philadelphia the place to spend it in—and Burlington was the quiet retreat for old age, when both making money and spending it gave way to other thoughts, and when persons desired to pass their declining days in tranquillity, and sink in peace to their graves.

Bristol, on the opposite bank, presents quite as pretty an appearance from the river, and though not so populous, is still a tolerably large country village, or small country town; but the inhabitants would be offended, perhaps, at such a designation, as it is

an incorporated city. We were told that the unfortunately "celebrated" Rowland Stephenson, the London banker, who, some years ago, fled from England to America, with a large amount of money, abstracted from the banking firm of which he was a partner in London, resided here at Bristol, in "easy circumstances," and had some few associates among the less scrupulous residents of the place.

From hence we proceeded upward along the stream, sometimes steering close to one bank, sometimes to the other, but rarely in the centre, and admiring the exuberant fertility and beauty of both, till we reached Bordentown, where we were to be transferred from the steam-boat to rail-road cars. The disembarkation was soon effected, and the line of cars in motion, but the change was far from agreeable. The weather was delightful, as a fresh breeze greatly tempered the heat of the atmosphere; but from some defect in the construction of the engines, which requires reform, the ashes thrown up with the smoke of the chimnies fell in such quantities on the passengers in the cars, as to be extremely disagreeable, besides burning the dresses of such of the ladies as were nearest the engines, the sparks falling on their persons before the fire in them was completely extinguished; so that innumerable small holes were burnt through the parts of the garments on which they fell.

The route by the rail-road was through the State of New Jersey, over a generally level tract of country, there being very few and very slight elevations or depressions in the surface to preserve the general level throughout the whole way.



New Jersey is celebrated for its productions of fruit ; and on either hand, as we passed on, we saw orchards of apples, pears, peaches, and other fruits, the trees of which were full of promise. The rich grass lands, general fertility, and exuberant foliage of the woods that lined our road, were delightful to the eye, and gave us a very high conception of the productive powers of this part of the country. We enjoyed it too, perhaps the more, because of the pleasing contrast which its present state of foliage and fruitfulness presented to the bleak and barren appearance of the same track, when we passed it in February last.

About eleven o'clock we arrived at Amboy, having performed the distance of 30 miles in something less than two hours, the general rate of speed, therefore, being about 15 miles the hour : but in some particular spots where a slight descent assisted the progress of the cars, a mile was performed in two minutes and half, being at the rate of 24 miles an hour. It is not for want of power that the engines do not go at greater speed ; but from restrictive regulations of the directors, which prohibit it, having reference no doubt to economy, durability, and safety, in these restraints.

Embarking on board the steam-boat at Amboy, we found the change delightful, and proceeded on our way to New York. On our passage from this city to Philadelphia in February last, we were obliged to make the voyage from New York to Amboy, by passing round the outer or eastern edge of Staten Island, as the inner passage was thickly frozen, and unnavigable, and the outer one indeed had floating

ice of 15 and 16 inches in thickness all the way, the cold being intense. Now, however, the heat was as much in extreme, the thermometer being at 90°: while on the morning of our embarkation in February, it was 6° below zero, such was the difference of temperature in four months. But the inner passage being now open, we did not regret the change, as it gave us an opportunity of seeing the long narrow channel on the west of Staten Island, and between it and the New Jersey shore.

This Strait, which is at least twenty miles in length, occupied us about two hours in passing; but there are few spots on the globe where for such a distance there is a more continued scene of beauty, at this season of the year at least, when every thing appeared in its best dress. On both the shores, distant from each other from two to four miles in different parts, the vegetation was in the highest degree of luxuriance; and the frequency with which new settlements, small in extent, but neat and picturesque in their aspect, appeared to peep through the foliage, added much to the beauty of the scene.

In this way we passed Elizabeth Town on the left, in New Jersey; the recent but flourishing little watering place of New Brighton, in Staten Island, on our right, with the Pavilion Hotel, Public Baths, and private dwellings, built like groups of Greek temples, rather than marine villas, and from their pure white exterior looking like edifices of Parian marble. We had also a distant view of Newark, in Jersey, one of the prettiest towns in the country. At length we opened the bay of New York, with the

quarantine ground—the Narrows—ships at anchor, outward bound—schooners and small craft beating across the waters—Bedlow's Island—Governor's Island—Brooklyn on the heights—and the city of New York right ahead—forming altogether one of the most extensive, varied, and delightful marine pictures that the eye could survey. I had thought the entrance to the bay of New York, from the Atlantic, when we passed through the Narrows, in October, extremely beautiful; and I did not think it less so, when approaching it from the Straits of Staten Island in June. The city, too, preserved all its imposing aspect. The numerous spires and steeples of the churches—the battery, with its trees, now in full foliage—the countless boats, sloops, and schooners emerging from the East river on the one hand, and from the North river on the other—with the forest of masts fringing the edge of New York, at the wharves on either side of the shore—and the distinctive signals of the several packets and other large vessels engaged in the foreign trade—all made up a lovely and animating picture. It furnished a striking contrast to the general absence of ships and vessels in the harbour of Baltimore, and the river of Philadelphia; and gave me still higher ideas than I had entertained before, of the great maritime superiority of New York to both these cities, partly from her closer proximity to the ocean and accessibility of inlet and outlet throughout the year, and still more, perhaps, from the capaciousness and security of her waters, and the magnificent avenues of the East river and North river, by which her smaller

craft can penetrate at once into the very heart of the country.

We landed from the steam-boat at half-past one ; but found the city so full of strangers, it being the season when persons come up from the south to enjoy the cooler climate of this and the more northern parts, that we were four hours in searching from hotel to hotel in every part of the town, and this in the midst of a violent thunder-storm, with vivid lightning and torrents of rain, before we could get even a single sleeping-room disengaged. We at length obtained this at the Waverley Hotel in Broadway, and here made our home for the present.

During my stay in New York, I suffered a second illness, not having sufficiently regained my strength from the fever in Philadelphia, before I resumed my journies. I was accordingly detained here for a week, and only able at the close of it to see a few of the many friends we had left here, whose cordiality we found unabated. We paid a short visit to the Great Western steamer, which had just arrived at New York on her second successful voyage across the Atlantic. Her size, accommodation, but above all the machinery of her truly magnificent engines, formed altogether a splendid triumph of art, honourable to the projectors, and to the nation, besides being gratifying in a moral point of view, bringing England and America so much nearer to each other in time. This increased facility of intercourse cannot fail to lead more Englishmen to visit the United States, and more Americans to visit England than heretofore ; and thus hasten the breaking down of those anti-national

prejudices which still linger in each against the inhabitants of the other, and may every year thus strengthen the bonds of peace and amicable relations of commerce and good-will between all the nations of the globe!

### CHAP. XIII.

Departure for Albany—Voyage up the Hudson—Hoboken, Weehawken and the Palisadoes—Tappan bay—Grave of Major André—State prison for criminals at Sing Sing—Picturesque scenery of the highlands—Military academy at West Point—Monument to the Polish patriot, Kosciusko—Monument to General Brown—Poloppel Island, and Breakneck Hill—Flourishing town of Newburgh—The Beacon hills, extensive prospect from thence—Town of Poughkeepsie, manufactures there—Landing at the village of Catskill—Stage route from the village to the mountains—Excessive roughness of American roads—Beautiful appearance of the country—Steep ascent of the mountains—Tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, and hail—Gentleness and humanity of the drivers—Road on the edge of a precipice—Complete envelopment in mist, second thunder-storm—Arrival at the hotel called the Mountain House—Description of the hotel, American cookery—Splendid daybreak on the mountain-top—Singular sea of clouds beneath the spectator—Sublime picture of sun-rise—Effects of sun-light on the beautiful picture—Gradual breaking away of the clouds and mist—Herschel's theory of the spots on the sun—Glorious prospect under the meridian day—Resemblance to the plain of Damascus—Water-fall of 260 feet near the Mountain House—Leave the mountain for the landing-place—Character of the scenery above Catskill—City of Hudson, and village of Athens—Associations of celebrated classical names—Defective nomenclature of the towns of America—First approach to Albany from the south—Interesting appearance of the city—Triumph of steam navigation—Affecting account of Fulton's experimental voyage—Landing at Albany, and comfortable home.

As the weather continued sultry, and I derived less benefit from medicine than it was thought likely I should do from change of air, I was advised by my physician to embark at once upon the Hudson river,

and go straight to the village of Catskill, without halting at any intermediate point, but on landing there, to ascend the mountains, and pass a night or two at the Mountain House, the elevation of which secures a cool and bracing atmosphere, while all the lower parts of the country are steeped in sultry heat.

On the morning of Saturday, the 23d of June, we accordingly embarked at seven o'clock, on board the steamer for Albany, and found there between four and five hundred passengers bound up the river. The vessel was of large size, with ample accommodations, and engines of great power, so that her average speed when under way was not less than fourteen miles per hour.

Leaving the wharf at the foot of Barclay Street, we proceeded upwards on our course, having on our right the continuous lines of wharves, ships, steamers, and small craft, which fringe the western edge of New York, as the larger vessels do the banks of the East River on the other side of the town. At every hundred yards, and often less, we met schooners and sloops under sail, coming down the Hudson, with a leading wind from the eastward, while as many were passed by us upward-bound; the number of these small craft—with their clean, well cut, and well trimmed sails, and vanes lengthened out into broad pennants, after the manner of the Dutch, from whom this custom is, no doubt, derived—being sometimes as many as a hundred all in sight at once, and giving great life and animation to the scene.

We passed the hills of Hoboken on our left; scattered over which, were many beautiful villas, the country-seats of opulent merchants and others from



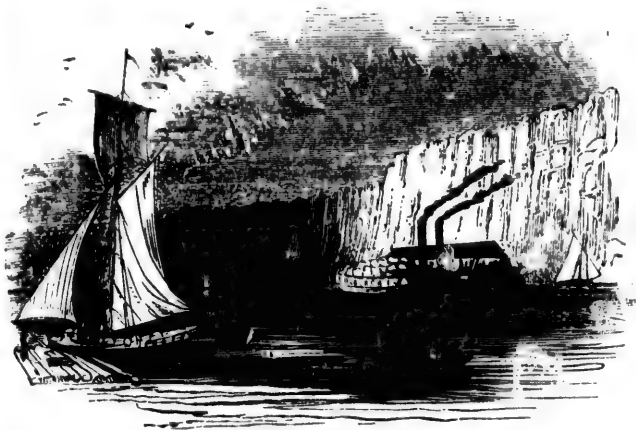
New York; the position of Hoboken combining the advantages of fine air, extensive view, beautiful woods, and close proximity to the city, there being a steam ferry-boat that crosses the Hudson at this point continuously throughout the day.

A little above this, on the same side of the river, and distant from the city about six miles, is a spot called Weehawken, which is memorable as the usual duel-ground of this quarter. It is close to the river's edge, and screened in from the land-view by surrounding rocks, which gives it the privacy usually sought in such encounters. Here it was that the well-known General Hamilton fell in a duel with the then notorious, and it may now be added, infamous Colonel Burr. The St. Andrew's Society of New York erected a monument to the memory of the General, which continued for some years to occupy the spot where he fell; but since the removal of his remains to the burial-ground of Trinity Church, in Broadway, the monument has been removed also, and one has been erected to his memory near the church named.

About two miles beyond this, and eight from New York, the western bank of the river begins to assume a very remarkable appearance, presenting all along, on that margin of the stream, a perpendicular wall of rock, varying from 100 to 500 feet in height, sometimes perfectly bare, and sometimes partially covered with brushwood, but always showing the perpendicularity which constitutes its most striking feature, and carrying along on its summits the sharp and broken edge of a precipice, while at the foot of the cliff below there is often neither beach nor plat-

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form; so that the river bathes the solid wall of rock as it rises perpendicularly from the stream.



These cliffs extend for nearly twenty miles along the western bank of the Hudson, and are called "The Palisadoes," a name given, probably, from the ribbed appearance of some parts of the cliff, which seem like rude basaltic columns, or huge trunks of old and decayed trees, placed close together in a perpendicular form, for a barricade or defence. The water is deep close to their very feet, being what is called, in nautical language "a bold shore;" and the small sloops and schooners that navigate the stream were often so close to the cliffs, that a biscuit might be thrown on shore from them; sometimes, indeed, it would seem as if they were determined to run their bowsprits into the rock, as they did not tack till their stems were within a few feet of the cliff, making their evolutions interesting and picturesque.

Here and there, however, a break in the cliffs would show a little bit of lawn sloping down to the stream, and a pretty little cottage peeping out from the wood in which it was embosomed; and sometimes at the foot of a narrow ravine, would be seen a humble shed, either of a river-fisherman, a quarryman, or some other labourer to whom this locality was acceptable. The opposite or eastern bank of the river was only of moderate height, cultivated, wooded, and dotted over with dwellings at intervals, so as to contrast agreeably with the western cliffs.

In the course of our progress along these palisadoes, and about four miles after their commencement, there were pointed out to us the sites of two remarkable forts; one of them, called Fort Lee, which stood on the very edge and summit of the western cliffs, at an elevation of 300 feet above the level of the river; and the other called Fort Washington, which stood on the opposite side of the stream, on a moderately elevated hill. This latter fort was taken by the British in 1776, and the garrison, consisting of 2,600 troops, were captured as prisoners of war. Fort Lee soon after surrendered also, but these were only temporary disasters in the glorious effort by which the oppressed colonists of Britain achieved their independence.

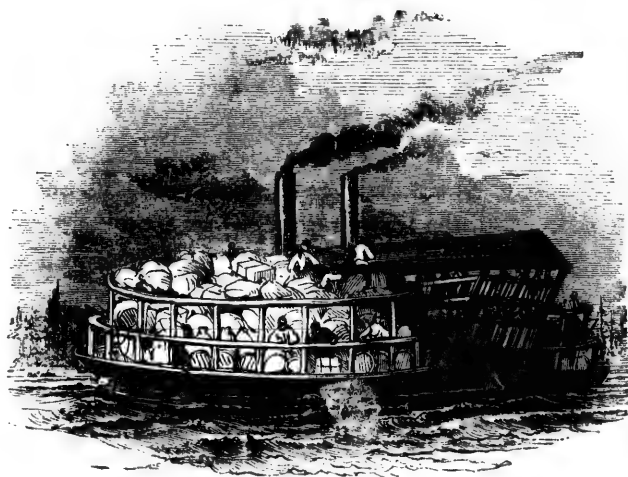
At the termination of the Palisadoes, the river, which hitherto continues its breadth of about a mile, suddenly expands to a width varying from two to five miles, and is here called Tappan Bay, the increased breadth continuing for a distance of about eight miles. This spot is also consecrated in American history, for, close by the little village of Tappan, which

gives its name to the bay, is pointed out the grave of André, whose connection with the conspiracy of the traitor Arnold is well known; and whose remains, as that of a British officer, were given up at the request of the British government, and conveyed to England for interment there, a few years ago.

On the eastern shore of the Hudson, and near the northern termination of Tappan Bay, is the state-prison for criminals, called Sing-Sing. It presents a very singular appearance from the river, being a mass consisting of several low ranges of buildings, quite close to the water's edge, and, from being built of white marble, it has a snowy, and, in some positions of the sun, even a dazzling appearance. It was my intention, had my health permitted, to have visited Sing-Sing and West Point, in our progress up the river; but the interdict under which I was placed by my physician forbade it, and I was therefore compelled to reserve my examination of these two interesting spots—interesting, of course, from very different causes, the one as a place of punishment, the other as a place of education—till some future time.

About twenty miles beyond the bay of Tappan, and forty from New York, the scenery of the river becomes again changed, and the range of hills, called the Highlands, approach close to the water, and hem in the stream on either side. The entrance into this channel is strikingly picturesque; and, with the full-green foliage of the month of June, and the countless sailing and steam vessels going up and down the river, some of the latter like floating warehouses (laden with two or three tiers of decks filled with cargo) few prospects can be imagined more romantic, more

stirring, or more beautiful. The hills rise abruptly in steep angles from the stream, and present, for a distance of nearly twenty miles, a succession of bluff headlands or promontories, all, however, clothed with underwood from their base to their summits; and the ravines or valleys between them are as beautiful as the hills themselves. The windings



round the promontories present a series of lakes, in which the spectator seems land-locked, as the continuation of the river is not visible either above or below, from the overlapping or interlacing of the headlands of the one side with the projecting capes of the other. This is peculiarly the case at a spot called "the Horse Race," where the stream makes a bend, running nearly east and west, its general direction being north and south. The hills on either side approach closer to each other here, and

the contraction of the river's breadth, contrasted with the height of the overhanging hills which rise from 1,200 to 1,500 feet—higher than the highest peak of the rock of Gibraltar, and with almost as steep an angle of ascent—give the whole a very striking and imposing appearance.

Here, too, the recollections of the revolutionary war are preserved in the names of Fort Montgomery and Fort Clinton, which were captured from General Putnam by the British troops in 1777 ; and in the name of a sheet of water in the rear of Fort Clinton, called " Bloody Pond," from the crimson tinge given to its waters by the number of the slain thrown into it after the sanguinary battle and dreadful carnage, of which that fort was the scene.\*

About half-past ten we arrived opposite to West Point, having performed the distance of fifty miles in about three hours and a half, making good the rate of fourteen miles an hour. The approach to this spot is highly interesting. On the west side of the Hudson, a promontory of moderate height, from 150 to 200 feet above the level of the river, projects into the stream, so as to require a sharp turn round its extremity to follow the course of the river on the other side. On the upper, or level part of this promontory, are placed the buildings of the Military Academy, at which all the cadets intended to form the officers of the United States army are educated ;

\* A similar circumstance, as to the deep discoloration of the waters by the blood of the slain, is mentioned by Josephus in his History of the Wars of the Jews, after a great slaughter in a naval battle fought between them and the Romans on the Lake Tiberias.

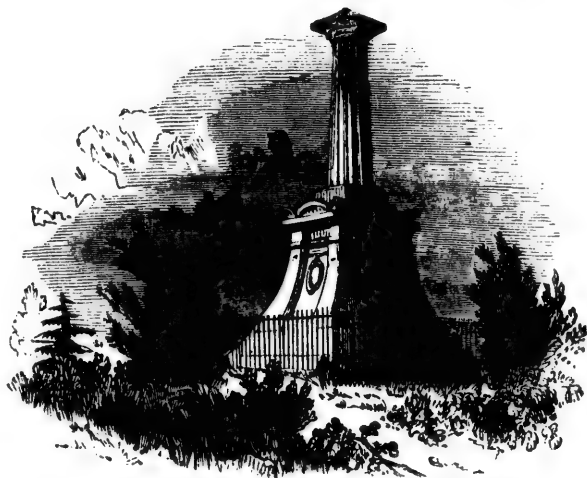
and above these, on a commanding elevation of about 600 feet, are the ruins of Fort Putnam, one of the most impregnable of the American fortresses during the revolutionary war. The position of the fortress, and of the batteries on West Point, gave them a complete command of the river up and down, as far as the range of the cannon could extend ; and every effort of the British, during eight years of warfare, to wrest them from the brave hands that defended both, were unsuccessful. Fort Putnam is dismantled and in ruins, there being no apparent necessity for such inland fortresses at present : and the policy and the interest of the country being pacific, centuries may elapse before they are ever required again.

The establishment at West Point is still, however, maintained with full efficiency, and the beauty, as well as the interesting nature of the spot, occasions it to be much frequented. To accommodate the large number of visitors here in the summer, a spacious and splendid hotel was built by the government, and leased out to a proper superintendent ; but after a few years of trial, it became so attractive that it was thought injurious to the good discipline of the students to continue it ; and, therefore, it was ordered to be shut up. The building still occupies its original position, and forms a fine object from the river, but it is quite untenanted at present.

I had letters of introduction to Colonel De Russey and Colonel Thayer, the officers in command at West Point, as I had originally intended to have passed a few days here ; but my present debility rendered it imprudent to attempt it now. I therefore passed on, without landing, reserving my visit till



another opportunity. We admired exceedingly, however, the beautiful appearance of the place, saw with pleasure the pillared monument erected to the memory of the brave Polish patriot, Kosciusko, who

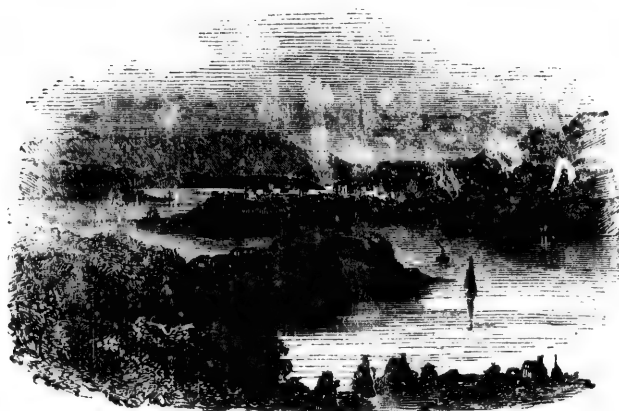


resided here, and tilled with his own hands a quiet little garden, which he made his favourite retreat, and which is still carefully preserved; as well as an obelisk erected to the memory of General Brown, who was educated at West Point, and afterwards fell in the defence of Fort Erie, in the last short American war with the English, in 1814.

The termination of the Highland scenery is about six miles above West Point, where two frowning hills overhang the stream on either side; the one called Breakneck, and the other Butter Hill; and between these, in the centre of the river, rises a mass of rock, called Pollopel Island. The height of the overhang-

ing hills is here also from 1,200 to 1,500 feet, and the scene is one of great grandeur and beauty.

Beyond this, the character of the landscape changes into a softer and more subdued style. The river



again expands in breadth; the shores on either side are well cultivated in rising slopes, and studded with small villages, separate farm-houses, and private dwellings; while the incorporated town of Newburgh, just above the smaller village of New Windsor, displays itself on a commanding elevation and presents a striking appearance from the river. It is a rising and flourishing place of trade, containing already a population of about 10,000, annually on the increase. The buildings have all that newness and freshness of appearance which is so characteristic of American settlements; and being built chiefly of wood (though there are many fine stone

houses in Newburgh), and painted, with white walls, relieved by bright-green Venetian windows and blinds, they seem as if they were hardly a month old. There are several large hotels, an Episcopal church with a lofty steeple, and a Presbyterian church with a gilded cupola or dome, the first I had seen in the country; and these, rising from the mass of well-built houses, symmetrically arranged, and sloping down the steep bank of the Hudson on the west, gave the whole town a commanding air, and pleasing aspect.

Among the whole is preserved, with great care, the "stone house" in which General Washington held his head-quarters when the revolutionary army was encamped here; and many continue to visit it, as a spot rendered sacred by its former occupier, and by the cause in which he fought. On the eastern bank of the river rises a lofty eminence called Beacon Hill, which is 1,500 feet high, and a little to the south of it is another peak, about 1,700 feet high. These are both called Beacon Hills, because, during the revolutionary war, signals were made from their summits by fires. They are often frequented by visitors, especially the former, as, from its summit the view extends into five different states, namely Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York.

About fifteen miles beyond Newburgh, but on the opposite side of the river, on the east, is another of those rising and flourishing towns of which America is so full, namely Poughkeepsie. It contains a population of about 10,000, but is even more rapidly augmenting its numbers than Newburgh. Occupying

an elevated position, it is seen as a conspicuous object in the river scenery, both in ascending and in descending the stream. Its principal source of wealth is its manufactures, and of these the principal branch is silk, there being a company engaged in this, with a capital of 200,000 dollars. A variety of manufactures in hardware are also carried on, and a peculiarly beautiful screw has been manufactured here by a machine, for which a patent has been taken out, which, from its mathematical precision in all its parts, is likely to supersede every other kind of screw in use, it being far superior to any other in quality, and quite as cheap in price. A little to the north of Poughkeepsie, and on the same side of the river, are several very pretty country-seats, at a spot called Hyde Park, which abounds in beautiful landscape views.

At three o'clock we arrived at the intended place of our debarkation, Catskill, and, having dined on board the boat, we landed here, and entered the stage-coach, which was waiting on the wharf, with a party of three of our fellow-passengers from New York, making, with Mrs. Buckingham, my son, and myself, six in all. The stage was a large open coach, designed for nine inside passengers, a front and back seat for three each, and a central cross seat, midway between these two, for three more; and we were heartily glad that it was not likely to be filled, as the heat was oppressive, and in my weak and exhausted condition I should have felt the pressure painfully.

The word "kill" signifies, it is said, in Dutch, "creek:" and hence the number of names in the

rivers of those parts of America settled by the Dutch, with this termination: such as Schuylkill, Fishkill, &c. This village stands on a small creek, which flows through it towards the Hudson, and contains about 5000 inhabitants, the buildings being chiefly of wood.

We left the village, and rattled on, with four stout horses and a skilful driver, at a rate which soon made me long for English roads instead of American ones. We had been told, on inquiry, that the road to the foot of the mountain, which is about nine miles, was level and excellent, and that it was only the ascent of the mountain itself, about three miles more, that was at all rough or disagreeable. The standard of excellence differs, however, in different countries and in different minds. In any part of Europe the road would have been thought bad, but in England it would have been called execrable. There was no remedy, however, but patience; though it required a large exercise of this to sustain the jolts and shocks, which were almost enough to dislocate a weak frame and shake it to pieces. The road was not only full of deep ruts and large masses of rock, by which elevation and depression sometimes succeeded each other so rapidly that the transition was fearful; but there was a perpetual succession of steep ascents and descents, instead of a level road, nearly all the way to the foot of the mountain.

The country looked beautiful, however, on either side. The wood predominated in the track we passed: but at intervals small patches of cleared land appeared, the trunks of the felled trees still remaining a foot or two above the ground, and wheat, barley, rye, and grass occupying the general surface.

Many rivulets crossed the road, and it was deemed a sufficient bridge over these to lay along a few rough trunks of trees, or a few loose planks ; the sensation of passing over which, at a full trot, and sometimes a gallop, may be better imagined than described.

It took us about two hours and a half, over this rugged road, to reach the foot of the mountain ; our rate of speed, upon the whole, therefore, being hardly four miles an hour. Here we drew up at an inn, and supposed that a pair of fresh horses, if not the entire four, would have been put in, to complete our journey up the steep ascent ; but it was not the custom to change at all, as it had been found, by experience, that the same horses could perform the whole distance without being distressed. We accordingly set forth again upon our way. We had scarcely commenced the ascent, however, before the clouds began to lower overhead, and there was every indication of an approaching thunder-storm. In less than half an hour it burst upon us with all its fury. The lightning was most vivid, the rattling of the thunder deafening, and its prolonged reverberation in the hollows of the surrounding mountains, grand in the extreme. The rain, too, fell in torrents, the drops being so heavy as to make an impression as large as a dollar on the rocky masses which formed part of our road ; and these were succeeded by a rattling hail-shower, which completely chilled the air. During the first burst of the storm, the horses stopped ; but there being a guard against the descent of the coach behind, in the shape of a large iron fork, which, as the coach receded backward, plunged into the road, and prevented its going farther, we were

at ease respecting our safety. The driver managed his team not only with great skill, but with great tenderness also; for he permitted them to halt for breath in the steep ascent every five minutes at least; and when they had sufficiently rested, said to them, "Come, my joys, set out again," as if he had been addressing men instead of cattle; and the horses understood these good English phrases quite as well as the unmeaning sounds of "gee-whoop, gee-whoah, and meather-ho!" with which English carters and ploughmen accost their beasts; and once or twice he said, "Now mind, if you don't get us well up the hill, I must get others that will." They set out invariably at the word of command, and the whip was not once used, nor its sound ever heard, from the commencement to the end of our journey; and I confess, I thought the substitution of the vocal organs for the lash a great improvement, and one worthy of universal imitation.

Our road wound up the mountain-side with a steep rising or ascending slope of rock, clothed with wood on our right hand, or above us, and deep glens and ravines, with a similar or still greater profusion of wood on our left hand, or below us; the road often going on the very edge of a precipice, several hundred feet in depth, over which a timid traveller would every moment expect to be thrown. But no accident of any kind has occurred on this mountain road for many years past; an honourable testimony to the skill, sobriety, and care of the drivers.

About half-way up the ascent we became completely enveloped in a thin blue mist, so as to be unable to see a dozen yards before us. Patches of this would sometimes clear away, and then unfold to us



peeps of beautiful views through the opening foliage below us. To this again succeeded a second thunder storm more violent, and with heavier rain than the first; until after two hours' tedious climbing—for our and slow and broken pace might aptly so be called—and with intervals of thunder, lightning, wind, rain, and momentary gleams of sunshine and mist, we reached the hotel called the Mountain House, about half-past seven, having been four hours and a half performing the distance of twelve miles from the landing. We found here a small party of about a dozen persons only, as the season was yet early, so that we had an ample choice of rooms; and our fatigue was so great, that we were glad to retire as early as possible, after we had taken refreshments, to rest.

We passed the whole of Sunday at the Mountain House, as completely shut out from the world below, as if we had been elevated to another planet; for the mist or fog continued so intense during the greater part of the day, that we could barely see the foundations of the house we occupied; and at some moments the mist so completely enveloped the house, that not a particle of the ground around or near it could be distinguished, so that our dwelling was like an aerial mansion suspended among the clouds. I never remember to have been placed in any situation in which I felt so strongly the impression of complete isolation from the world.

The hotel is a large edifice, built of wood, within a few feet only of the brink of a precipice of perpendicular rock, about 100 feet in depth, overhanging the brow of the mountain below. It thus stands on a level platform of rock, which occupies an area of

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about six acres, having a rising elevation on the south, and several higher peaks on the west ; but the eastern slope of the mountain being continuous downward, from the Mountain House to the plain. The elevation of the hotel above the river Hudson, is 2,212 feet measured barometrically; but there are other peaks of the same range of mountains in the vicinity which have an altitude of 3,800 feet.

The Mountain House has a frontage of 140 feet, with a depth of only 24; so that it is extremely narrow in proportion to its length. A separate wing furnishes a series of drawing rooms, of the extent of about 50 feet by 20; and there is a large verandah, or piazza, with lofty wooden pillars in the eastern front of the house, for the promenade of visitors, with a long dining-room, divided by a range of central pillars, in the sub-area or lowermost story; but all the upper part of the house is subdivided into very small bed-rooms for the accommodation of large numbers, to the extent it is said of 200, which number of visitors they sometimes have in the months of July and August, but the present is considered the earliest part of the season, when few persons are here.

We found the accommodation more agreeable than we had anticipated, as the rooms and beds were perfectly clean, the servants numerous and attentive. The table, however, was, like all the American tables of hotels, steam-boats, and boarding-houses that we had yet seen, more remarkable for superabundance of food than skill or delicacy in preparing it. I had often thought that we might be too fastidious in our tastes, though my whole family were, like myself,

partial to plain dishes and simple food, and in England were always classed among those least attached to the pleasures of the table ; but though the native Americans are generally insensible to the defects of their culinary preparations, all persons who have travelled in Europe return deeply convinced of their national inferiority in this particular.

I had heard this from a hundred native Americans, at least, who had visited England ; but as the published testimony of one of their own writers will be deemed of more force, perhaps, than any private opinions that could be adduced, I venture to transcribe the observations of Mr. James Fennimore Cooper, the well-known American author, who in his last work, just issued from the press under the title of "The American Democrat ; or Hints on the Social and Civil Relations of the United States of America," has the following paragraphs on this subject :—

"There is a familiar and too much despised branch of civilization, of which the population of this country is singularly and unhappily ignorant : that of cookery. The art of eating and drinking, is one of those on which more depends, perhaps, than on any other ; since health, activity of mind, constitutional enjoyments, even learning, refinement, and, to a certain degree, morals, are all, more or less, connected with our diet. The Americans are the grossest feeders of any civilized nation known. As a nation, their food is heavy, coarse, ill prepared, and indigestible, while it is taken in the least artificial forms that cookery will allow. The predominance of grease in the American kitchen, coupled with the habits of hasty eating and of constant expectoration, are the causes of the diseases of the stomach so common in America. The science of the table extends far beyond the indulgence of our appetites, as the school of manners includes health and morals, as well as that which is agreeable.

Vegetable diet is almost converted into an injury in America, from an ignorance of the best modes of preparation, while even animal food is much abused, and loses half its nutriment.

"The same is true as respects liquors. The heating and exciting wines, the brandies, and the coarser drinks of the labouring classes, all conspire to injure the physical and the moral man, while they defeat their own ends.

"These are points of civilization on which this country has yet much to learn; for while the tables of the polished and cultivated partake of the abundance of the country, and wealth has even found means to introduce some knowledge of the kitchen, there is not, perhaps on the face of the globe, the same number of people among whom the good things of the earth are so much abused, or ignorantly wasted, as among the people of the United States. National character is, in some measure, affected by a knowledge of the art of preparing food, there being as good reason to suppose that man is as much affected by diet as any other animal, and it is certain that the connection between our moral and physical qualities is so intimate as to cause them to react on each other."

My own experience leads me to concur in these remarks, both as regards the facts, and the opinion of their influence upon health and character; and I feel persuaded that one of the most valuable reforms that could be effected in America would be a reform in the culinary and dietetic system of the country.

On the morning of Monday the 18th of June, we were all stirring at daylight, in order to enjoy the prospect of the rising sun. On looking out of the windows, the scene that presented itself was most remarkable, and totally different from any thing I had ever before witnessed. The sky above us was a bright clear blue, slightly mottled with white fleecy clouds, as in the finest summer mornings of England. But of the earth beneath us, nothing was to be seen

except the rocky platform on which our habitation was built, and a small portion of the brow of the hill on which this stood. All the rest of the great expanse before us, extending to a distance of from 40 to 50 miles, was covered with a thick sea of perfectly white billows, as if there had been a general deluge, and we were occupying the summit of the Ararat which alone rose above the wide waste of waters around us. This was a compact and continuous stratum of fleecy clouds, which were below our feet instead of above our heads, and which literally covered the earth as with a canopy, and shrouded it entirely from our view. The waves of this cloudy sea assumed, too, so much the appearance of huge billows rolling, the one after the other in succession, from west to east, that excepting in the colour of the element, which here was of snowy whiteness instead of blue, it was like looking down from a ship's mast-head on the turbulence of the southern ocean in a tempest off the Cape of Good Hope, or like a view of the great sea, seen in its most violent agitation from the summit of the Table Mountain that overhangs the promontory named. It was altogether the most striking and impressive scene I had ever beheld, and could never be forgotten if life were prolonged to a thousand years.

While we were gazing with unspeakable admiration on this singular and beautiful cloudy sea, the increasing light of the eastern horizon, betokened the near approach of the sun. All eyes were accordingly turned to that direction, and in a few moments the bright and splendid orb rose up from his eastern bed, with a fulness of glory, that seemed

like the dawn of a new creation. There were accumulated, in the immediate quarter of the heavens where the sun arose, a series of strata in the clouds, of different shapes, densities, and distances, which produced a variety of lights and tints, from the palest amber to the deepest purple ; and caused the straight edges of some, and the wavy or undulated edges of others, to be tipped with the brightest lustre, sometimes of silver—sometimes of paler, and sometimes of deeper gold, so as to form altogether one of the most gorgeous and splendid skies that could be imagined ; while overhead in the zenith, and in every other quarter but the east, a serene azure, over which sailed clouds of fleecy whiteness, completed the beauty of the picture.

At the same time, the billowy surface of the cloudy sea beneath our feet, still completely hiding every spot of the earth from our view, was made so radiant with the slanting beams of the rising sun thrown horizontally along its waves, that they looked like a sea of the brightest snow, heaving and rolling in some places in rounded surges, and in others flinging up their spiral points to the sky, like the conflict of opposing streams, or the spray of a vast cataract. Altogether the scene was as indescribable as it was splendid and sublime, and we dwelt upon it with an intensity of admiration which almost made the head ache with the pleasure of the sight.

About an hour after sunrise, we began to discover a partial breaking away of the cloudy awning, or rather the opening of patches and spaces in it, which bespoke its approaching dissolution. The first place in which this was visible, was over the channel of the

Hudson river, the track of which could be plainly traced, by a corresponding hollow, or long and winding valley in this misty sea. The next places were close by the sides of the mountain on which we stood, where little slits, or loop-holes, gradually opened, through which we could peep downward, and see, at a great distance below, the green fields, and thick woods, with little farm-houses, just visible as white spots on a speckled plain.

At ten o'clock the mist had so cleared away over the Hudson, that its stream became visible, but no portion of the green banks of the river could be seen on either side, so that it was like a mighty stream winding its way through a bed of clouds. At eleven, large hollow patches in the mass of clouds opened in several places, so as to enable us to see corresponding portions of the earth's surface through them; and the manner in which these hollow patches altered their forms, expanding in some parts, and contracting in others, reminded me strongly of the theory of the late Dr. Herschell, as to the spots on the sun, which he supposed to be merely patches of the opaque body of the sun's orb seen through hollows or openings in the luminous atmosphere by which it is surrounded; and certainly if this vast mass of clouds that hung between us and the earth should be as bright as it was at sunrise, and a spectator in the moon should be looking at our earth at the time, these open gaps or hollows in the illuminated stratum, would make the patches of the soil, seen through them, look like spots on its surface, of varied and fluctuating forms and sizes, just as those on the sun appear to us from the earth.

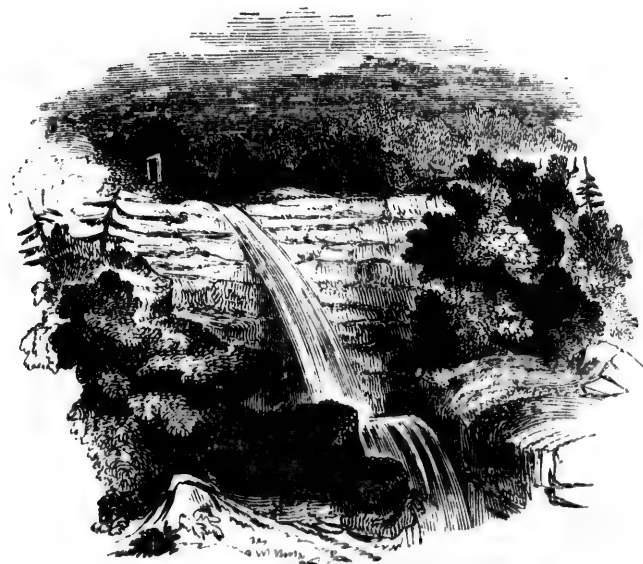


By noon, the whole of the clouds below us were dissipated, and the full glory of a meridian sun beamed down upon one of the most extensive and beautiful landscapes that could be well conceived. Behind us, to the westward, rose the peaks of mountains higher by a thousand feet and more, than the summit of that on which we stood, and completely intercepting all further view in that direction. To the east, however, the prospect was almost boundless. At the foot of the steep slope of the range beneath our feet, commenced the cultivated plain, covered with cleared land, in farms of different sizes and in different degrees of cultivation, interspersed with patches of thick wood, of variegated trees, and dotted over with farm-houses, country residences, and other buildings. This plain continued for seven or eight miles in a straight line, till it reached the western bank of the Hudson.

Beyond that stream, the lands, equally fertile, and as extensively cleared and cultivated, rose gradually in an ascending slope till it terminated in a range of hills, at a distance of forty or fifty miles, intercepting the eastern horizon, and bounding the view in that direction. In the centre of the valley or plain, and between these distant ranges of eastern and western elevation, flowed down the noble river, which could be distinctly traced along its path for thirty miles at least, here contracting its channel between abrupt projecting bluffs—there expanding it into ample bays—and several times, throughout its length, having its current interrupted by beautifully-fertile islands; while its surface was studded with at least a hundred sails, as white as the fresh-fallen snow, floating on its glassy bosom, like so many buoyant pearls.

Altogether the prospect was enchanting, and worth going a hundred miles to see. It reminded me, more strongly than any other scene I remember, of the view of the plain of Damascus from the summits of the hills by which it is environed. It wanted, it is true, the camel, the dromedary, and the herds and flocks of that eastern picture, as well as the meandering and pellucid streams of the Pharpar and Abana, and the gorgeous and glittering city of domes and palaces, environed with its cypress groves and citron gardens in the centre ; but still, even with the absence of these, the resemblance was striking, and to say this is to admit that it was as grand and beautiful as any scene in nature can be.

About two miles from the Mountain House is a fine water-fall, which the nature of the road to it,



and my own state of health at the present moment did not admit of my visiting. My wife and son, however, joined a party from the hotel in an excursion there, and were highly gratified. The cavernous hollow from which the fall is seen, the semicircular theatre of rock around it—the romantic combinations of the clustered wood, and the imposing aspect of the cataract itself, which, by two separate falls, of 175 feet to a projection of shelving rock, and from thence, of 85 feet to the bottom, complete a descent of 260 feet in the whole : and the late heavy rains having furnished an abundant supply of water, the cataract was witnessed to the greatest advantage.

Soon after noon, we left the Mountain House for the river, to embark for Albany. On our way down, the bright sunshine, clear atmosphere, and perpetual vistas of beauty through the trees, made a pleasing contrast to the thunder-storms and mists of our ascent. We found the way therefore more agreeable ; but on the road from the foot of the mountain to the village—the dislocating jolts and shocks were repeated : and it seemed to me that I had been more bruised and beaten by this ride of twelve miles, than I could be in Europe by the longest journey that could be undertaken.

We reached the wharf at the landing-place about three ; and the steam-boat from New York arriving soon after, we re-embarked and proceeded onward to Albany, with a still larger company of passengers, and in a larger and finer boat than that in which we had come thus far.

From Catskill to Albany the river appeared narrower than below, and the banks become more tame

in scenery ; but they everywhere preserve the most exuberant fertility, and are thickly interspersed with towns, villages, hamlets, and single dwellings.

About five miles beyond Catskill, to the north, are two towns, occupying opposite banks of the river, that on the east being the city of Hudson, of Dutch foundation, and called after the navigator who has given his name to the river ; and that on the west being the incorporated village of Athens. The first of these, which contains about 6,000 inhabitants, exhibits in its architecture and the colouring of its houses, the origin from whence it has sprung. The latter, containing about 1,500 inhabitants, is of much more recent date, and exhibits, accordingly, a newness and freshness in the style and hue of its buildings, which makes it look gayer and lighter than its opposite neighbour.

To be called upon by some fellow passenger to look around and see Athens, appears at first like a joke ; it seems so difficult to separate from the sound of that word the glories of the immortal city of Minerva, with its frowning Acropolis, its beautiful Parthenon, its Temple of Theseus, and its classically-sacred associations. The very name conjures up the shades of Pericles, Phidias, and Praxiteles, and the imagination wanders through the gardens, and listens in the portico, to the great teachers of the several schools of Grecian philosophy, to Socrates and Plato, to Aristotle and Zeno ; from thence passes on to the theatre, and hangs with delight on the tragic glories of Euripides, Eschylus, and Sophocles ; to the Areopagus and Agora, to hear the thunders of Demosthenes against Philip, or to the Hill of Mars, to listen to the

great apostle of the Gentiles unfolding to the inquisitive Athenians the nature, attributes, and purposes of the Infinite Being to whom they had dedicated an altar with the inscription, "To the Unknown God." But all this dream of the imagination vanishes the moment the eye reposes on the humble village which here assumes this imposing name.

It is not peculiar, however, to any part of America more than another, thus to appropriate to itself the most renowned names of history for their cities, towns, and villages; everywhere this singularly ill-directed taste is apparent. From New York to Albany, within the compass of a single day's journey, including the valley of the Hudson and its neighbourhood, we have Babylon and Jericho, Salem, Lebanon, Gilboa, Carmel, Goshen, Athens, and Troy, with a rail-road to Syracuse, Utica, and Rome, from among the ancient cities and places of celebrity; and Oxford, Canterbury, Salisbury, Windsor, Hamburgh, Hyde Park, Kingston, Glasgow, Bristol, Durham, Cairo, Bath, Cambridge and Waterford, from among the modern. The evil of this is increased by the constant repetition of the same practice in different States, so that there are no less than 14 places bearing the name of Athens, and 9 of Rome, besides a Romeo and a Romulus, 14 Palmyras, 12 Alexandrias, 4 of Damascus, 2 of Joppa, and 3 of Jerusalem.

In the names of more modern cities, the repetitions are even still greater, but the most multiplied of all are those in which towns are called after distinguished political leaders, of which it may be sufficient to mention as an example that there are no less than fifteen Jefferson counties and

forty Jefferson towns, eight Jackson counties and sixty-six Jacksons or Jacksonvilles; twenty Washington counties and eighty Washington towns, in addition to the City of Washington in the district of Columbia, which is the seat of the general government. The greatest confusion already results from this tautological nomenclature; and the evil will increase with every succeeding year, till it forces some reform. It is the less excusable, also, as the Indian names are sufficiently varied and beautiful to admit of constant adoption.

At five o'clock we came in sight of Albany, having passed several small villages and landing-places on the way, and rapidly approached the town. The appearance presented by it was interesting, and full of promise. The slope of the western bank, on which it stands, represents a city rising upward from the shore of the river to an elevated ridge of land, and the number of towers and domes scattered among the general mass of dwellings, one of them, that of the City Hall, having its surface gilded, and several others of a burnished and dazzling white, being overlaid with plating of zinc and tin, gave to the whole a very brilliant aspect.

At half-past five we reached the wharf, the boat having accomplished her voyage from New York, of about 150 miles in a period of ten hours and a half, going, therefore, nearly fifteen miles an hour the whole way. This triumph of steam navigation is felt in its fullest force by a voyage upon the Hudson, and especially on arriving at Albany, as it is the very route on which the first experiment was made, the record of which is at once so affecting and so

instructive that it cannot be made too widely known. The celebrated Fulton, who was the first to make this experiment, thus describes its progress and issue in a letter to his friend, Judge Story :—

“ When I was building my first steam-boat,” says he, “ the project was viewed by the public at New York either with indifference or contempt, as a visionary scheme. Friends indeed were civil, but they were shy ; I listened with patience to my explanations, but I met a settled cast of incredulity on their countenances. I felt the full force of the lamentation of the poet,—

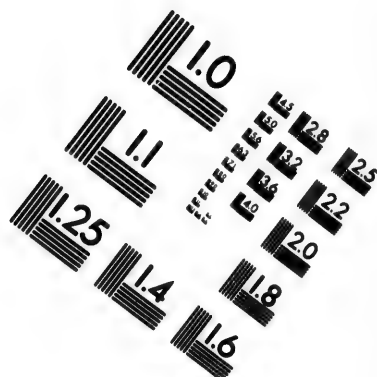
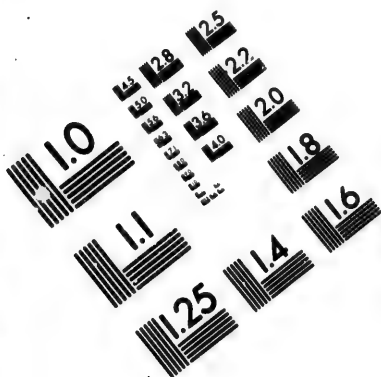
‘ Truths would you teach, to save a sinking land,  
All shun, none aid you, and few understand.’

“ As I had occasion to pass daily to and from the building-yard while my boat was in progress, I have often loitered, unknown, near the idle groups of strangers gathering in little circles, and heard various inquiries as to the object of this new vehicle. The language was uniformly that of scorn, sneer, or ridicule. The loud laugh rose at my expence ; the dry jest ; the wise calculation of losses and expenditure ; the dull, but endless repetition of ‘ The Fulton Folly.’ Never did a single encouraging remark, or bright hope, or a warm wish cross my path.

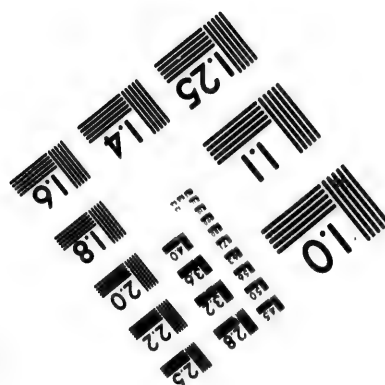
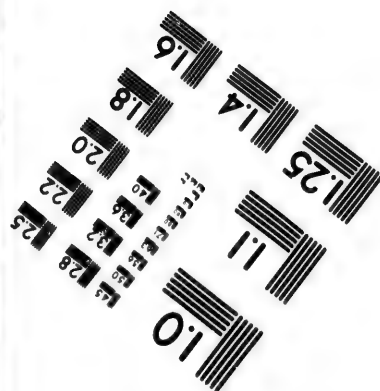
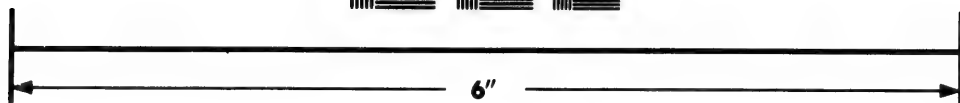
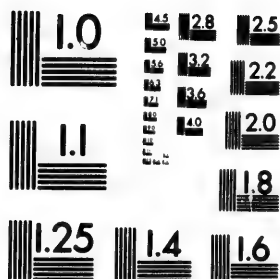
“ At length the day arrived, when the experiment was to be made. To me it was a most trying and interesting occasion. I wanted my friends to go on board, and witness the first successful trip. Many of them did me the favour to attend, as a matter of personal respect, but it was manifest that they did it with reluctance, fearing to be partners







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of my mortification, and not of my triumph. I was well aware that in my case there were many reasons to doubt of my own success. The machinery was new and ill-made; and many parts of it were constructed by mechanics unacquainted with such work; and unexpected difficulties might reasonably be presumed to present themselves from other causes. The moment arrived in which the word was to be given for the vessel to move. My friends were in groups on the deck. There was anxiety mixed with fear among them. They were silent, sad, and weary. I read in their looks nothing but disaster, and almost repented of my efforts. The signal was given, and the boat moved on a short distance, and then stopped, and became immoveable. To the silence of the preceding moment now succeeded murmurs of discontent and agitation. and whispers and shrugs. I could hear distinctly repeated, 'I told you so—it is a foolish scheme—I wish we were well out of it.' I elevated myself on a platform, and stated that I knew not what was the matter; but if they would be quiet and indulge me for half an hour, I would either go on, or abandon the voyage. I went below, and ascertained that a slight maladjustment was the cause. It was obviated. The boat went on; we left New York; we passed through the Highlands; we reached Albany!—Yet even then, imagination superseded the force of fact. It was doubted if it could be done again; or if it could be made, in any case, of any great value."

If Fulton and his then doubting friends could but be raised from the dead, and witness now the triumphs of steam on the Hudson and the Mississippi,

the Ganges, the Indus, the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Nile, and still later, across the broad Atlantic, the sensations of both would be very different to those by which they were animated on the first experimental voyage.

We landed at the outer wharf at Albany, amidst a crowd of competitors for the favour of conducting us to the hotel, the stage, or the rail-road; and after crossing the long wooden bridge, which stretches across the basin of the great Erie canal, we drove to an excellent house in Pearl Street, No. 59, formerly the residence of the late governor, De Witt Clinton, in which, indeed, he ended his useful and honourable life—and having comfortable accommodations provided for us there by Mrs. Lockwood, we took up our abode in one of the most agreeable homes that we had yet found since our landing in the United States.

## CHAP. XIV.

Early history of the settlement of Albany—First voyage of Hudson up the North river—Foundation of the Fort and City of Albany—Collisions of the Dutch with the English—Grant of the territory by Charles II. to the Duke of York—Surrender of Albany to the British—Increase of population, by the decennial census—Causes of the rapid prosperity of Albany—Size in area, and extent in resources, of the State—Comparison of surface with England and Wales—Vast scale of the United States of America—Increase of population, in the State of New York—Probable augmentation of territory and inhabitants—State canals, length, cost, and profits on them—Rail-roads, extent and cost—Early corporation records of Albany—Latest commercial and manufacturing statistics—Agricultural statistics—Increase in the banks of the State of New York, of each kind—Statistics of Education—amount of funds—Topography of Albany—Site and position—Plan and arrangement of streets and squares—Contrast between ancient and modern houses—Shops or stores, hotels and boarding-houses.

ALBANY ranks among the very earliest settlements of the Europeans on the continent of North America, having been first settled by the Dutch so early as the year 1612. It was but three years before this, 1609, that the celebrated English navigator, Hudson, then in the service of the Dutch East India Company, set sail from the Texel in Holland, in search of a north-west passage to India. He was unable to accomplish this object, and on abandoning it as impracticable, he steered southward, and entering the bay of the Chesapeake, there saw the first settlement

of the English at James Town, in Virginia. He afterwards sailed for the Delaware, off which he anchored, and proceeded from thence to Long Island, entered the bay of New York, and sailed up the North river, as it was first named, or Hudson, as it is now called after its first discoverer.

While we were on our passage up from New York to Albany, I was repeatedly led to consider what must have been the feelings of the intrepid commander and his enterprising crew at the scenes of beauty and fertility which were perpetually opening upon their sight during their advance up the stream, which they had every reason to believe that they were the first among Europeans to see and admire. Their delight must have been excessive; and the enthusiasm and triumph of the moment must have been worth a year of peril to purchase.

It is said, that though at the first entrance of Hudson into the bay of New York, some of the tribes then occupying Long Island, evinced their hostility to his further progress, by attacks in which some of his men were killed and others wounded, yet that as he advanced up the river, he found the Indians less hostile; expressing, by looks and signs, their disposition to give him welcome; and testifying their friendly spirit by presents of fruits and flowers.

The report which Hudson and his companions gave, when they returned to Holland, of the size and character of the river, induced the Dutch merchants to form an association for opening a traffic upon it; and the Dutch government granted to this association a monopoly of this trade for a certain period.



It was by this company, that the first settlement was formed where Albany now stands, on a spot then called by the Indians Schaunaugh-ta-da, or Once the Pine Plains. The Dutch here built a fort, which was commanded by Henry Christaens. It was first called Aurania, till 1620, then Beverwick till 1625, then Fort Orange till 1647, and then Williamstadt, till 1664. It was at once a fort and a factory of trade, and, like other places of this description, advanced gradually in population, and commerce.

It is worthy of remark, that the English Puritans who first settled in Massachusetts, originally intended to have sailed from Leyden where they were in exile in 1620, for the Hudson river, on whose banks they contemplated making their home. But the Dutch, anxious to prevent any English settlers intruding upon their own colonists, and at the same time unwilling to make any formal opposition to their voyage, for fear of offending the British, are said to have bribed the Dutch captain, in whose ship they embarked from Holland, to carry them so far to the northward that they could not reach the river ; and hence their first landing and settlement was made on the coast of the Massachusetts.

It was in 1621 that the foundation of the city of Albany was first laid by the Dutch West India Company, who about the same time, founded the city of New Amsterdam, on the island of Manhattan, where New York now stands. The Dutch settlers at Albany extended themselves gradually from hence eastward into Connecticut, and coming there into collision with the English, disputes arose among them on subjects sufficiently trivial and ludicrous. A

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formal record of the alleged grievances was kept by the Dutch, and Mr. Grahame has preserved, in a note to his interesting and valuable history, an extract from this chronicle, in which, as he truly says, "the insignificance of many of these complaints, and the homeliness of the subject matter of others, contrast somewhat ludicrously with the pompousness of the titles, and the bitter gravity of the style." Among them are the following—

"April 25, 1640. Those of Hartford have not only usurped and taken in the lands of Connecticut, but have also beaten the servants of their High Mightinesses and the honoured Company, with sticks and plough-staves—in hostile manner—laming them; and among the rest, struck Ever Deukings a hole in his head with a stick, so that the blood ran very strongly down his body."

"June 24, 1641. Some of Hartford have taken a hog out of the common, and shut it up out of mere hate, or other prejudice, causing it to starve for hunger in the sty."

"May 20, 1642.—The English of Hartford have violently cut loose a horse of the honoured Company that stood bound upon the common."

"May 23, 1642.—The said English did again drive the Company's hogs from the common into the village and pounded them."

"September 16, 1642.—Again they sold a young pig which had pastured on the Company's lands."\*

While these grievances were complained of by the Dutch, the same historian records a curious ground of complaint against the latter, and the Swedes, who had settled parts of the country, with them. It was said that several of the Indians attended the religious assemblies of the Europeans, "but with so little edification, that they expressed their amazement at the ill-breeding of the orator, who could exercise the patience of his tribe with such lengthened harangues,

\* Grahame's History of the United States, vol. ii. p. 165.

without repaying their civility by a distribution of brandy."

In 1664, Charles the Second, most unjustly seeking to provoke the Dutch into a war, asserted a claim to the whole of their settlements on the Hudson, under the title of the New Netherlands, and made a grant, by charter, of the territory then actually occupied by the Dutch, to his brother, the Duke of York. Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, when he heard of this, and of the subsequent intention to enforce the claim by arms, put himself in the best posture of defence he could; and when he received the summons of the English commander to surrender, communicated to him by a deputation, after remonstrating with them in vain as to their unjust pretensions, he ended by saying, "As touching the threats in your conclusion, we have nothing to answer, only that we fear nothing, but what God (who is as just as merciful) shall lay upon us; all things being in his gracious disposal; and we may be as well preserved by him with small forces, as by a great army: which makes us to wish you all happiness and prosperity, and recommend you to his protection." The issue was, however, the ultimate surrender of New York and Albany, to the British authorities, which took place in October, 1664; and in 1667 the territory was formally ceded by the Dutch to the British, in exchange for the colony of Surinam, which the Dutch had taken from the English.

The increase of population in Albany, from the earliest period at which any census appears to have been taken, up to 1830, the last year of the decennial numbering of the people, may be seen from the follow-

ing figures. In 1790, it was 3,498—in 1800-5,349—in 1810-9,356—in 1820-12,630—in 1830-24,238. At present it is thought to exceed 30,000; and by 1840, the next year of the census, will probably be 40,000, more than ten times its numbers 50 years ago.

The rapid prosperity of Albany is not so much to be attributed to the fact of its being the legislative capital of the State of New York, for which its position is well adapted, as to the advantage it enjoys as the chief port of *entrepôt* for almost all the exports and imports of the great maritime emporium at the mouth of its river, New York. This was the case to a certain extent, before the opening of the internal canals: but since these great channels have opened a highway from the Hudson to the lakes of the West, and by them to the noble rivers, Ohio and Mississippi, down to the gulf of Mexico, and by the Arkansas and Red River to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, while Lake Champlain extends its water-carriage towards the banks of the St. Lawrence, and the Hudson opens a way to the Atlantic; since these united advantages have been enjoyed by Albany, her wealth and population have grown with greatly increased rapidity; and the names of De Witt Clinton, the first projector of the internal communication, and of Fulton, the originator of steam navigation, are justly held in the highest veneration in the spot so much benefited by their joint labours.

The State of New York, of which Albany is the capital, is called, by all Americans, the Empire State, from its territorial extent, its vast resources, its enlarged commerce, its population, and consequent legislative influence. Its territory is 316 miles in

length, and 304 miles in breadth. It contains 47,000 square miles, or 31,080,000 acres. It is, therefore, larger in area than England, Wales, and the Isle of Man united, as these are computed, by Arrowsmith, in his Geography, to contain only 43,990 square miles. The vastness of the scale of the United States of America may be judged of from this fact, that this one single State out of twenty-six, of which the whole Union is now composed, is larger than England and Wales; while nearly half the other States are equal to it in size—and some of them, as Virginia, are still larger. The length of the territory belonging to the United States, and over which the government of Washington has lawful jurisdiction, is 3,000 miles, from Passamaquoddy, in Maine, to the shores of the Pacific; and its extreme breadth, from the lake of the woods, in the north, to the southern point of Florida, is 1,700 miles; so that it has an outline or border of about 10,000 miles in extent, and contains within its area the immense surface of 2,300,000 square miles, or more than fifty times the area of England and Wales, as given before. When it is considered that this vast territory is washed on nearly all its borders by the Atlantic or Pacific oceans, that its lakes are the most extensive, and its rivers the largest in the world; that it has every variety of soil and climate in the several zones it fills; and that there is no country upon earth in which facilities of communication, by rail-road and steam-boat, are so great as in this; that education is more general, industry more active, and that the whole of the existing generation are improving the resources of the country for those who are to follow

them;—there are hardly any bounds to the expectations that may be formed of its future greatness, if wisely and discreetly governed, and if kept free from the great scourges of society—luxury, intemperance, and war.

The increase of population in the State of New York is shown by the following numbers, at each of the indicated periods of census.

In 1701 . . . .	30,000	In 1749 . . . .	100,000
1731 . . . .	50,395	1771 . . . .	163,000

This was the slow rate at which the population of the State increased anterior to the revolution, and while it was merely a British colony, ruled by authorities at a distance from the scene. The change, after it became an independent country, is remarkable, as will be seen by the following.

In 1790 . . . .	340,120	In 1820 . . . .	1,372,812
1800 . . . .	586,050	1825 . . . .	1,616,458
1810 . . . .	959,049	1830 . . . .	1,918,608

Of the population of 1830, the following is a more detailed analysis :

White males . . . .	951,516	Free coloured males . .	21,465
White females . . .	916,670	Free coloured females .	23,404
Deaf and dumb . . .	842	Male slaves . . . . .	12
Blind . . . . .	642	Female slaves . . . . .	34
Aliens . . . . .	52,488		
Total whites . . . .	1,922,158	Total coloured . . . .	44,915

There is every reason to believe that in two years hence, at the census of 1840, the population of the State will be nearly, if not quite, three millions ; but even this, though just one hundred times more than it was in 1701, is but a handful compared to what it might, and no doubt will sustain, in less than a



century hence, when its 3,000,000 will be increased to 20,000,000, for which there are ample resources in the agriculture, manufactures, mining, and commerce of the State. It is not at all improbable, but that including the inhabitants of other portions of this great country, our posterity will see the United States of America, embracing the Canadas on the north, Mexico on the south, and touching the Pacific on the west, with a population greater than that of all Europe, and an advance in the arts, sciences, and useful improvements of life, such as no nation has ever yet witnessed.

The public canals of the State of New York, undertaken at the expense of the State government, including the Erie canal to the west, the Champlain canal to the north, and their respective auxiliaries and feeders, of all of which Albany may be regarded as the principal port of inlet and outlet, extend over a length of 655 miles; they have 343 locks, with 3,037 feet of lockage. Their actual cost was 11,962,712 dollars, or about 2,500,000*l.* sterling; and the tolls received on them in 1836 were 1,614,336 dollars, or about 323,000*l.* sterling, being more than 12 per cent. of profit on the actual outlay.

But this is still further improving, as by an official report on the tolls and trade of the State canals, published during our stay in Albany, in the government paper, the *Argus*, of the date of July 7, 1838, the following gratifying facts were made known:—

“CANAL TOLLS.—The tolls received on the New York State Canals for the week ending 7th July, 1838, were 36,682 dollars, being an increase of 26 per cent. on the previous year. The flour and wheat arriving at the Hudson river, *via* the Erie canal, for the



same period, were 28,950 bushels of flour, and 13,296 bushels of wheat; being an increase of 15,861 bushels of flour, and 12,296 bushels of wheat over the previous year."

**TOLLS ON THE STATE CANALS.**—The tolls collected on the New York State canals for the 4th week of June, amount to the sum of 47,123 dollars, exceeding the receipts for the corresponding week in 1837, by the sum of 15,034 dollars. The tolls for the whole month of June exceed the collections in the same month, in 1837, by about 37 per cent.

From the opening of navigation to the close of June, there has been received for canal tolls, the sum of 516,081 dollars. This exceeds the collections up to the same time in 1837, by the sum of 119,966 dollars.

The quantity of merchandise cleared from Albany and Troy from the opening of navigation to the close of June for the present year, shows an increase, comparing this year with last, of 5223 tons of merchandise, equal to 16 per cent. Besides the merchandise cleared on the canals, there has passed over the rail-road this season 1526 tons.

The increase of flour and wheat this year over last, is equal to 139,216 barrels of flour, or about 79 per cent. There has been brought to tide-water on the rail-road, not embraced in the foregoing, 12,421 barrels of flour. While the merchandise going from tide-water has increased 16 per cent., the tolls paid on products generally, have increased 30 per cent.; and on flour and wheat the increase is 79 per cent.

The quantity of flour and wheat shipped at Buffalo, from the opening of canal navigation to the 30th

June, for the present year, shows an increase of 225 per cent. over the previous one. The tolls received at the collector's office at Buffalo, from the opening of navigation to the 30th June, for the year 1838, shows an increase of 119 per cent.

**LOCKAGES ON THE ERIE CANAL.**—A statement has been furnished of the lockages for the month of June, 1838, at Lock No. 26, on the Erie canal, which shows that 70 cribs and 3349 boats passed this lock during the month, averaging 114 lockages per day. This is an increase of 1491 lockages over June 1837.

**SALT DUTIES.**—The amount received by the superintendent of the Onondago Salt Springs for the last three years, in the months of May and June, is as follows, viz: in 1836, 16,291 dollars; in 1837, 22,365 dollars; and in 1838, 38,123 dollars; being an increase in 1837 over 1836, of  $25\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and of 1838, over 1837, of  $72\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

Besides these State Canals, there are a great many others in progress, the estimated cost of which will exceed three millions of dollars, and canals by incorporated companies which will cost upwards of two millions of dollars more.

Of rail-roads in this state, there have been as many as 29 executed by incorporated companies, from 1826 to 1836, at a cost of 12,000,000 dollars, or nearly three millions sterling, extending over a length of 670 miles; and these, too, are still increasing, and all returning a remunerating profit.

The records respecting the early history of Albany are very scanty, and the field of the antiquary is consequently very limited. In a journal called the

Scheneetady Reflector, some extracts are given from the earliest minutes of the Albany corporation, of which the following are examples.

CITY OF ALBANY.—We present a few extracts from the earliest minutes of the Albany city corporation.

In 1746, the corporation ordered 6*l.* to be paid to John Bell, "the city whipper," for six months' services.

In 1747, they direct a receipt to be signed by their clerk "for half a barrel of powder received from Sybrant G. Van Schaick, in lieu of the powder he borrowed from the corporation when the governor was here last."

In 1748, they ordered "Mr. Santvoort to pay Robert Lottridge for two gallons of wine that Mr. Miller bought upon the corporation account, when the governor came."

These and many similar orders demonstrate that our Dutch burghers were good and faithful subjects to their English governors, besides paying a pretty good salary to their city whipper.

Such are the trivial and unimportant incidents recorded in the minutes, and selected by the Reflector as interesting to the antiquary. The modern details announce more important facts, and show, as strikingly as anything can do, the contrast between the old times and the new, in the history of this country at least. Let the returns here given be received as proofs.

In the State of New York, as we learn from the official records, there were, in the year 1835, the latest period to which the returns have been completed

(and every one considers the number of most of them to have increased rather than otherwise, since then,) the following.

	Number	Value of raw materials used. Dollars.	Value of articles made. Dollars.
Grist Mills . . .	2,051	17,687,009	20,140,435
Saw Mills . . .	6,948	3,651,153	6,881,055
Oil Mills . . .	71	214,813	275,574
Fulling Mills . . .	965	1,994,491	2,894,096
Carding Machines .	1,061	2,179,414	2,651,638
Cotton Factories .	111	1,630,352	3,030,709
Woollen Factories .	334	1,450,825	2,433,192
Iron Works . . .	293	2,366,065	4,349,949
Trip Hammers . .	141	168,896	363,581
Distilleries . . .	337	2,278,420	3,098,042
Asheries . . .	693	434,394	726,418
Glass Factories .	13	163,312	448,559
Rope do . . .	63	664,394	980,083
Chain Cable do . .	2	20,871	28,625
Oil Cloth do . . .	24	63,119	95,646
Dying and Printing do	15	1,999,000	2,465,600
Clover Mills . . .	69	95,693	110,025
Paper Mills . . .	70	358,857	685,784
Tanneries . . .	412	3,563,592	5,598,626
Breweries . . .	94	916,252	1,381,446

*Articles made in Families.*

2,183,951 yds. of Fulled Cloth	} value	1,500,000	2,029,984
2,790,069 do. Woollens			
3,799,953 yds. Linen, & Cotton			

Total . . . . .	43,400,922	60,669,097
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The only branch in which there has been a decrease, and that must be regarded as a blessing rather than a loss, is in that of distilleries and breweries. Of the former, there were, not many years ago, upwards of 1200. By the operations of the Temperance Societies these have been reduced to 337, the number given in the above table; and the gain to

the country, in converting grain to wholesome and nutritious food, instead of distilling from it a poisonous and destroying drink, is unequivocal; as is also the conversion of barley and fruits into food for cattle, instead of their fermentation into beer and cider. The amount of animal nourishment is thus greatly increased, and the amount of intoxication, and all its deleterious consequences, is in an equal degree diminished.

Other branches of manufactures have sprung up, too, since 1835; which are not enumerated in the list given; and among others, that of silk and beaver hats, which in the last year, 1837, were made to the value of four millions of dollars, or 800,000*l.* sterling.

The agricultural statistics of the State of New York are as encouraging as those of its manufactures, showing a progressive increase and improvement in every department, as the following table will exhibit.

Estimated value of improved lands and live stock in the State of New York, by the census of 1835, compared with the same in 1825.

		Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
9,655,426	Acres of improved land	25	241,385,650	179,024,175
1,885,771	Neat cattle	10	18,857,710	15,134,210
524,895	Horses	50	26,244,750	17,481,400
4,261,765	Sheep	1½	6,392,647	5,244,808
1,554,358	Hogs	3	4,638,074	4,403,719
Total			297,543,831	221,288,312
Do. in 1825			221,288,312	
Increase			76,255,519 dollars.	

The Banks existing in this State, have always been regarded as the safest and best secured in the

Union ; and they have fully sustained their reputation by their being the first of all the banks in the country to resume specie payments, which is now sustained by the whole of them. The most recent official statement respecting their number and condition, is that made by the commissioners appointed for that purpose by the legislature in May, 1837, of which the following is an authentic copy.

#### NEW YORK SAFETY FUND BANKS.

The following statement is furnished by the bank commissioners for the purpose of showing the general condition of the banks as compared with their condition on the 1st of January, 1837 :—

#### *Eighteen New York City Banks.*

	1st January.	4th May.
Loans and discounts	36,442,000 dollars.	35,683,000 dollars.
Specie . . .	3,854,000 "	2,596,000 "
Circulation . .	8,155,000 "	4,931,000 "
Individual deposits .	11,180,000 "	9,536,000 "
United States ditto .	7,176,000 "	3,820,000 "

#### *Sixty-three Country Banks.*

	1st January.	10th May.
Loans and discounts	26,979,000 dollars.	26,822,000 dollars.
Specie . . .	1,439,000 "	1,100,000 "
Circulation . .	12,461,000 "	9,601,000 "

From this table it will be perceived that the city banks had, previous to the suspension, reduced their discounts, since 1st January, about 800,000 dollars, and their circulation nearly *three millions and a quarter*.

#### NEW YORK STATE BANKS AND CIRCULATION.

The charters of the Lockport bank, capital 100,000 dollars, and the Sacketts Harbour bank, capital 200,000 dollars, having been repealed by the legislature at the session of 1837, the present banking capital of the State is 37,301,460 dollars, of which the capitals of nine banks, 5,100,000 dollars, are not subject to the safety fund act.

The amount of circulation, authorized by the suspension act of May, 1837, is as follows :—

	Capital.	Circulation.
24 New York City Banks	20,861,200 dollars.	14,100,000 dollars.
75 Country Banks .	16,440,260 „	15,430,000 „
Total .	37,301,460 dollars.	29,530,000 dollars.

The most gratifying part, however, of the statistics of this flourishing State, is that which relates to its appropriations for education. Of colleges for superior and professional learning, there are in the State of New York—Columbia college, and the new University in the city of New York; Union college, in Schenectady; Hamilton college, in Clinton; and two medical colleges, one in the city of New York, and the other in Fairfield, Werkimer county. But besides the support of these, which are all well sustained, there is a fund of about 200,000 dollars devoted to the assistance of academies; and no less a sum than a million of dollars is expended annually in support of the Common Schools for the education of youth, in this single State of the Union. Of this sum, one tenth is paid by the State from its school-fund; one tenth is paid by a tax for education on the towns; and two tenths by a similar tax on the property of the several school districts, making four tenths, raised or furnished by the State; while the other six tenths, or the better half, is cheerfully paid by the parents and guardians of the scholars. It was in the city of Albany that that useful work, the "Common School Assistant," a monthly newspaper, devoted to the advancement and improvement of education, was first established; and some of the wealthiest men of the State are still among the most munificent patrons of the system of Common School education.



Of the topography of this city, the legislative capital of the Empire State, it may be said, that its site is well chosen, being on the west bank of the river Hudson, with the lower portion of the city on a slightly ascending plain, near the stream, which makes it commodious for the transaction of business; while the gradually-ascending angle by which it at length attains a steep ascent, and terminates in a lofty and commanding hill, is also favourable to the imposing appearance of the city on approaching it, to the display of its public buildings at different degrees of elevation, to the convenience of the more opulent inhabitants who desire spacious and airy situations for their dwellings, and also to the general cleanliness and consequent salubrity of every part of the town.

The plan of arrangement and subdivision is not so regular as many of the American cities, but, like New York and Baltimore, while its older parts are remarkably irregular, all its more modern laying out is as symmetrical as could be desired. The principal street, which ascends from the banks of the river and terminates at the foot of the Capitol on the hill, is a noble avenue of at least 120 feet in breadth; Market Street and Pearl Street, by which this is intersected at right angles, as these streets run nearly parallel to the river, are also as fine streets as can be desired, of ample breadth, from 80 to 100 feet, shaded on each side by rows of trees, and containing many spacious and excellent mansions, interspersed with places of worship and public buildings, which produce a most agreeable effect.

Here and there are some striking contrasts, to

impress on the spectator the difference which a century has made in the style of building and scale of domestic comfort. The house we occupied at the south-east corner of Pearl and Steuben Streets, was a most commodious and delightful mansion; it had formerly been the residence of the late governor, De Witt Clinton, and was equal in size and accommodation to some of the best houses in Baker Street, Harley Street, or other similar streets in the north-west of London. Next door to us was the residence of Governor Marcey, the present governor of the State; and next to him was a new mansion, belonging to the president of the Albany Bank, Mr. W. Olcott, as well-finished and fine a building as could be seen in any part of the world—indeed, a sumptuous abode; while on the opposite, or north side of the street, were, in addition to the noble private dwellings, the two projecting Ionic porticos of the Female Academy and the Baptist church, which, with the graceful dome and turret of the latter, made a most beautiful architectural picture, which even an inhabitant of Rome, or Venice, or Genoa, would admire.

In contrast with all this, however, there stood at the north-east corner of Pearl and Steuben Streets, and right opposite the house we dwelt in, a Dutch burgher's residence, bearing the date of 1732; its yellow and ill-cemented bricks, its small windows and doors, its low body, and immensely disproportioned sloping roof, covered with tiles of all shapes and fashions, shewing what description of city Albany was likely to have been a century ago, and enabling

one to judge of the amazing advance in opulence, taste, and comfort, which had been made since that humble dwelling had been first reared ; in this respect the occasional presence of such relics, as land-marks, or indexes of the progress of time, and corresponding progress of improvement, is useful, and nowhere more so than in this country.

In the laying out of the new or upper part of the city, care has been taken to appropriate some portion of the space to public squares, for the recreation and health of the population, and public baths are spoken of as being likely to be undertaken by the city authorities.

The shops, or stores, as they are here universally called, are not equal to those of any of the larger cities we had visited, except Washington, which are decidedly inferior to those of Albany ; but there are well-furnished warehouses here of almost everything needed, and an air of great activity and bustle prevails in the principal business streets.

The hotels are not many in number, but they are on a large scale, and have the reputation of being among the most comfortable in the country. Of the boarding-houses we heard also a very favourable account ; and if they at all resembled the one in which we had the good fortune to be placed, they must be of the best description, as we had found nothing so much like a comfortable English home, as the house of Mrs. Lockwood, at 59, Pearl Street, where we remained for several weeks, and enjoyed ample accommodation in rooms, good fare, and, above all, great kindness and courtesy, and genteel and agree-

able society. There is a large Temperance Hotel in North Market Street, well furnished, supplied with baths, and conducted, as we had heard from competent and impartial authorities, in a manner to afford great satisfaction to all who frequented it.

## CHAP. XV.

Government of the State, legislative and executive—Extent and costs of the public establishments—Liberal appropriations for education—Examples of American rulers as to education—Penn, Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe—Question as to the connexion of ignorance and crime—Extracts from the letter of Dr. Lieber on this subject—Opinions of the keepers of Penitentiaries and jails—Testimony of Mr. Wood, of the Philadelphia prison—Testimony of Mr. Wiltse, of the Sing-Sing prison—Testimony of Mr. Smith of the Auburn State prison—Testimony of Mr. Pilsbury of the Connecticut State prison—Contrast of the legislatures of England and America—Albany academy for the education of male youths—Albany female academy—Issue of the experiment on female education—Great defect in the want of physical training—Supposed gradual decline in the health of females—Causes which contribute to this in America.

THE government of the State of New York, which is seated at Albany, is composed of a legislative and an executive body, assisted by an extensive judiciary. The legislative body comprises a House of Representatives, consisting of 128 members, chosen every two years by the people, and a Senate, consisting of 32 members, 8 of whom, or one-fourth of the whole, are chosen annually: so that the longest period of their service, without re-election, is four years. The pay of the members of both houses is the same, namely, three dollars per day.

The executive consists of a governor, elected every

year, at a salary of 4,000 dollars — a lieutenant-governor, who is, ex-officio, president of the senate, and receives six dollars per day during the session—a comptroller at 2,500 dollars a year, and two deputy-comptrollers at 1,500 dollars each per annum—a treasurer at 1,500 dollars, and a deputy-treasurer at 1,300 dollars yearly—an attorney-general at 1,000 dollars—a surveyor-general at 800 dollars—and a secretary of state, who is also superintendent of Common Schools, or a minister of public instruction for the State, at 1,750 dollars, with a deputy-secretary, who is also clerk of the commissioners of the law office at 1,500 dollars a year. There are also four acting canal commissioners, and three bank commissioners, at 2,000 dollars a year each; and these, together, constitute what is here called “The Regency” or effective force of the executive; the entire cost of which is only 31,350 dollars, or about 6,270*l.* sterling; scarcely equal to the retiring-pension of a single Lord Chancellor, or a single Speaker of the House of Commons, in England. The whole expense, indeed, of the government of this large State, greater in area than England and Wales, and with more than three millions of people, including the legislative, executive, and judiciary, the army and police, is not greater than the cost to England of any one of her numerous colonies in the Eastern or Western world.

One of the certain consequences of making the government in harmony with the public sentiment, is the absence of any disposition to rebellion; and as the people here have always a remedy in their own hands against any oppressive measure, in the exercise of the electoral franchise, by which they can change

their representatives, senators, and governors at fixed periods, if not satisfied with their administration, there is consequently no fear of insurrection, and neither fleets nor armies are necessary to overawe or check them. The best government is that which, while it affords ample protection to the persons and property of all those living under it, exacts the smallest portion of the labour or capital of the people to defray its expenses.

The judiciary consists of a court of chancery—with a chancellor and three assistants, their whole salaries being only 3,000 dollars, or about 600*l.* per annum; a supreme court, with three judges and a registrar, whose united salaries are 8,000 dollars or 1,600*l.* a year; a superior court for the city of New York, with three judges, and a registrar, whose united salaries are 7,500 dollars a year; and eight circuit courts, with a presiding judge in each; the whole cost of the eight courts, at 1,600 dollars each, being 12,800 dollars, or 2,560*l.* sterling per annum.

While the expense of the general government, in its legislative, executive, and judicial departments, is thus light, it is pleasing to see how wisely and judiciously the resources of the State are applied to the diffusion and support of education; the conviction being strong and general here, that ignorance and intemperance are the chief causes of crime; and that the most efficient, as well as the most economical way of preventing crime, is to instruct the people, and teach them that their true interest lies in being industrious, sober, and virtuous. The latest statistics in the appropriation of the school-fund of the State of New York, is the following :—



## COMMON SCHOOLS.

	<i>Dollars.</i>
Amount of the Common School Fund, Sept. 30, 1836	1,917,494.17
Number of school districts in 853 towns of the State	10,207
Number of school districts that made returns in 1836 . . . . .	9,696
Number of children taught in districts returned . . . . .	532,167
Number of children between 5 and 15 or 16, in those districts . . . . .	583,396

*Expenses of the Common School System in 1836.*

Public money distributed among the towns . . . . .	313,376.91
Amount paid for teachers' wages, besides public money . . . . .	425,643.61
Paid for teachers' wages . . . . .	739,020.52
Interest at 6 per cent. on 2,183,200 dollars, invested in school-houses . . . . .	130,992.00
Annual expense for books for 532,167 scholars, at 50 cents each . . . . .	266,083.50
Fuel for 9,916 school-houses, at 10 dollars each . . . . .	99,160.00
Total . . . . .	1,235,256.02

While Great Britain is behind both France and Prussia in conceiving the advantages, or granting funds for the support, of a good system of National Education, and her successive administrations have received with coldness and neglect every proposition for devoting the funds of the State to the establishment of such a general system as should embrace the very poorest classes, under some vague fear that they would become wiser than was desirable for persons in their sphere of life; the first settlers of America, and all its subsequent rulers and persons in authority, have been from the very beginning so uniformly impressed with the importance of educa-

ting the rising generation, that they have almost all placed their testimony on record on this subject. The following are only a few of such instances.

William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, uses this language, in one of his addresses to his council : " That which makes a good constitution must keep it, namely, men of wisdom, and virtue ; qualities, that because they descend not with worldly inheritance, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth. Above all things," he adds, " endeavour to bring up children in the love of virtue—sweetness mixed with gravity, and cheerfulness tempered with sobriety. For their learning, let it be liberal. Spare no cost ; for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved ; but let it be useful knowledge, such as is consistent with truth and godliness. It is commendable in the nobles of Germany that they have all their children instructed in some useful occupation. We are too careless of posterity, not considering that as they are, so the next generation will be. If we would amend the world, we should amend ourselves ; and teach our children to be not what we are, but what they should be."

George Washington, the first President of the United States, in his first annual speech to Congress, January 8, 1790, thus earnestly recommends education :—" There is nothing that can better deserve our patronage than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness, and in one in which the measures of government receive their impression so immediately from the sense of the community as in ours, it is proportionably essential. To the security

of a free constitution it contributes in various ways. By convincing those who are entrusted with the public administration, that every valuable end of government is best answered by the enlightened confidence of the people, and by teaching the people themselves to know and to value their own rights, to discern and provide against invasions of them, to distinguish between oppression and the exercise of lawful authority, between burdens arising from a disregard to their inconvenience, and those resulting from the inevitable exigences of society, to discriminate the spirit of liberty from that of licentiousness, cherishing the first, avoiding the last, and uniting a speedy but temperate vigilance against encroachment, with an inviolable respect to the laws."

Washington, in his farewell address, also, thus advises his fellow-citizens ;—"Promote, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened."

John Adams, the second President of the United States, animated by the same spirit, says, in his inaugural address, "I am a friend to all rational measures for propagating knowledge among all classes of people. I wish success to the project of free libraries. A republican government without knowledge and virtue, is a body without a soul,—a mass of corruption and putrefaction, food for worms."

Thomas Jefferson, the third President, breathes the same sentiment, when he says, "By far the most important bill in our own code is that for diffu-

ing knowledge among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised for the preservation of freedom and happiness. Make a crusade against ignorance, establish and improve the law for educating the common people."

James Madison, the fourth President, in his message to Congress, dated December 5, 1810, uses this language: "While it is universally admitted that a well instructed people alone can be a permanently free people; and while it is evident that the means of diffusing and improving useful knowledge form so small a proportion of the expenditures for national purposes, I cannot presume it to be unreasonable to invite your attention to the advantage of superadding to the means of education provided by the several States, an institution supported by the National Legislature, which, by enlightening the opinions, expanding the patriotism, and assimilating the principles, the sentiments, and manners of those who resorted to it would contribute not less to strengthen the foundation than to adorn the structure of our free and happy form of government."

James Monroe, the fifth President, in his inaugural speech, delivered on the 4th of March, 1817, after enumerating the progress made since the revolution, and the prosperous state of public affairs, says, "Such then being the highly-favoured condition of our country, it is the interest of every citizen to maintain it. What are the dangers which menace us? If any exist, they ought to be ascertained, and guarded against. In explaining my sentiments on this subject, it may be asked, what has raised us to the present happy state? How did we accomplish

the revolution? How remedy the defects of the first instrument of our Union, by infusing into the national government sufficient power for national purposes, without impairing the just rights of the states, or affecting those of individuals? How sustain and pass with glory through the late war? The government has been in the hands of the people. To the people, therefore, and to the faithful and able depositaries of their trust, is the credit due. Had the people of the United States been educated in different principles; had they been less intelligent, less independent, or less virtuous, can it be believed that we should have maintained the same steady and consistent career, or been blessed with the same success? It is only when the people become ignorant and corrupt—when they degenerate into a populace, that they are incapable of exercising the sovereignty. Usurpation is then an easy attainment, and usurpers soon found. The people themselves become the willing instruments of their own debasement and ruin. Let us look then to the great cause, and endeavour to preserve it in full force. Let us, by all wise and constitutional measures, promote intelligence among the people, as the best means of preserving our liberties.”

John Quincy Adams, the sixth President, differs in no respect from his predecessors in office, as to the importance of public institutions, supported at the expense of the State, for promoting education; and in his message to Congress, dated Dec. 6. 1835, he says: “The great object of the institution of civil government, is the improvement of the condition of those who are parties to the social compact. And no government, in whatever form instituted, can

accomplish the lawful ends of its institution, but in proportion as it improves the condition of those over whom it is established. Moral, political, intellectual improvement, are duties assigned by the Author of our existence to social, no less than individual man. For the fulfilment of these duties, governments are invested with power ; and to the attainment of the end, viz. the progressive improvement of the condition of the governed, the exercise of delegated power is a duty as sacred and indispensable, as the usurpation of power not granted, is criminal and odious. Among the first, perhaps the very first instruments for the improvement of the condition of men is knowledge ; and to the acquisition of much of the knowledge adapted to the wants, the comforts, and enjoyments of human life, public institutions and seminaries of learning are essential."

Here, then, is a continued and unbroken chain of evidence as to the sentiments entertained, and recommendations offered, by the first six Presidents of the United States, in favour of public support for institutions of general education. The same uniformity of opinion is to be found among the citizens of all the separate States as to its importance ; and there is no tax or contribution paid by the people more readily or cheerfully than that for education, of which they are so sure to reap the full benefit.

The question of how far ignorance is the great producer of crime, and to what extent education operates in preventing it, is one of the most important, perhaps, that can engage the attention of man ; yet, like most other questions connected with human improvement, it has been greatly perplexed by contro-

versy. One of the most satisfactory and convincing publications that I have yet seen upon this subject is from the pen of Francis Lieber, LL.D. in a letter addressed to the president of the Philadelphia Society for alleviating the miseries of public prisons ; and as the work is not likely to be familiar to many in England, the importance of its statements will well warrant my transferring a few of its passages to these pages, of which the following are examples :—

“ In the British House of Lords, as well as Commons, it has been stated that education is far from causing a decrease of crime, and the United States have been adduced as instances of this pretended fact. In one case it has been asserted, that official information had been obtained from the city of New York, which would amply prove it. On the other hand, some remarks of Messrs. de Beaumont and De Tocqueville, contained in their work on the Penitentiary System in the United States, on the apparent increase of crime in the State of Connecticut, have been referred to, as equally confirming the statement, which, if true, would disappoint the promoters of public instruction in one of their fondest hopes.

“ It appeared to me that, though many individuals would be inclined to dismiss these assertions without further consideration, since long experience has convinced them of a different result, it would nevertheless be desirable that a convincing statement to the contrary should be given to the public, both here and in Europe, if we are at all able to do so. The assertions are serious ; the consequences which their truth would involve, of an alarming character ; the impression which they might produce, very obnoxious in an age, when, in many countries, greater efforts are making to establish general education than at any previous period, and when, on the other hand, the results at which some of the most distinguished and acute statistical writers have arrived, apparently corroborate the above unfavourable remarks.

“ Knowledge in itself is neither good nor bad ; it has no moral character of its own, and in the translation of the work of Messrs. de Beaumont and Tocqueville, which I have already mentioned, I



have said: 'In this sense, knowledge is, in itself, in most cases, neither good nor bad; arithmetic will assist a defaulter, as much as an industrious man who works for his family, as a knife may serve the murderer, as well as him who cuts a piece of bread with it for a crippled beggar; just as the sun lends his light to crime as to virtue.' But if we come to speak of public instruction, knowledge does not retain so entirely an indifferent character.

"It has been often remarked, that instruction, without the careful cultivation of the heart and religious instruction, leads to moral mischief, rather than to good effects. This is undoubtedly true, but in practice the remark applies more, I believe, to schools of a higher character than to what is called a general or popular school system. Times have existed when the religious cultivation of the heart—I do not only speak of religious instruction—was greatly neglected in schools where the sciences were taught with peculiar success. But this disproportion does not so often exist in elementary schools, such as are established by a general school system, for all the classes in less favoured situations. I believe there is hardly a school, even the meanest, in which the child does not receive some moral instruction, were it but in a secondary way. A teacher cannot help enforcing some moral rules, by way of keeping order in his school-room; nor can the lessons which the children have to read and to learn, remain without instilling some moral precepts into the mind, or disposing it better for the reception of moral and religious views. Secondly, there is in all knowledge, even the most indifferent as to moral effect, for instance arithmetic, a softening power, which renders the mind more pliable; and however inferior it may be in itself, it forms one more link which connects the individual with the society in which he lives. But the more we can cultivate this feeling of our being linked to a society of moral beings, and to a nation, which is not of to-day, but in which we have to perform our duties as every one else, and the more we can prevent the future growth of a feeling of separation from society, or, with which in fact this feeling often ends in its natural progress, of opposition to the rest of society, the more we shall also prevent the various acts of selfishness, of absorbing egotism—of crime. It is for this reason, among others, that the instruction in our political duties ought to form a branch of instruction in all schools.

Let us teach and convince every one that he forms an integrant part of the community, upon the faithful performance of whose duties its welfare partially depends, and we shall increase his self-esteem, and thereby afford him one of the best preservatives against crime.

"The best preservatives against crime will always be a well-trained mind, early application, and industrious habits, together with good example. There is, I believe, no person who has had an opportunity of various and thorough observation of criminals, who will not agree with me on this point, and it is easy to judge how much a sound school education contributes to a regular training of the youthful mind.

"That a universal school system ought never to be wanting in a proper instruction in morals and the cultivation of religious feelings, as well as in instruction in political virtue and morality, is as true as that no system of general education will produce all the good effects which it ought to produce, without proper care being taken for the education of teachers. These are truths acknowledged in those countries where public instruction has most prospered. But there are so many subjects of high interest connected with public instruction, that I should exceed the limits within which I must confine these observations, were I even but briefly to touch upon them.

"All I have stated so far is as yet but general assertion, however plausible it may appear. How are we then to test its truth? By comparing the proportion between crime and population, since public instruction has been established in a given country, to that which before existed? I have already shown the fallacy of this test in most cases; and I must extend my remark. The increase of crime, or in other words, the increase of indictments, (because most generally, some crime has been committed by some one, where there is an indictment) is unfitted to serve as test of the increased criminality of a community, if we are not enabled, by a number of concurrent statements, to judge more precisely of the case. Sometimes the police has become more vigilant, sometimes the laws have been made more proportionate to the crime, and the judges are more willing to convict; sometimes a great influx of destitute persons has taken place, at others public attention has been roused, and directed to certain crimes until then neglected;

an army may have been disbanded; a winter has been peculiarly severe, a famine may have existed, money transactions may have offered new opportunities, &c., in short, a number of causes, some of which are continually exercising their influence upon mankind, may have existed without the least connexion with public instruction; nay, the latter may have continued to exercise its beneficial influence during the whole time that crime was increasing, and may actually have prevented it from still greater increase.

"Whether crime in our Union, has in general, of late, increased or not, I am not able to say. If impressions in matters of this kind were worth anything, I would say, that my impression is, that certain crimes, more especially murder, have either increased, or it has become more common with editors of newspapers to mention the details of every murder, in whatever quarter of the Union it may have been committed. Wherever the truth may lie, certain it is that this ready reception of accounts of atrocious deeds, is pernicious in a great many respects. It satisfies one of the worst cravings of the human mind, and affects it in turn, in the same way in which physical stimulants and exciting liquors satisfy, and, in turn, ruin the body; it has a tendency to render the reader callous; and it has a positive and evil effect upon criminally-disposed persons. The power of imitation is incalculable, universal, and often operates by imperceptible degrees. Our newspapers ought, certainly, not to be silent on the various crimes which are committed, for it is equally important that the true state of things be known, but it strikes me, that it would be both beneficial to the people at large, and becoming to the vocation of editors, were they to state but the simple facts of atrocious crimes, and leave their detailed accounts to those papers which avowedly collect the statements of misdeeds, and appear stamped on their very face in a way which makes every honourable reader flee them. It would be certainly a wise measure if the editors of some of our most respectable papers would set the example, and agree to abstain in future from publishing detailed accounts of barbarous crimes.

"One of the most active causes in producing crime in our country, is intemperance. An immense majority of all murders are either committed during intoxication, or in consequence of quarrels or misery brought on by intemperance. And if crimes of an

atrocious nature have increased of late, it will probably be found by minute inquiry, that it is in a great measure owing to the increase of intemperance, which some years ago took place, and which is now showing its melancholy effects on the intemperate themselves, as well as on those who, in the meantime, have grown up with such pernicious examples before them.

"Though this letter be not the precise place for the following remark, I nevertheless cannot refrain from making it, since it seems to me of the greatest importance that universal attention be directed to the subject; namely, the immoderate use of opium in various shapes, chiefly by way of laudanum, in families, and especially with infants, without the advice of proper physicians. My inquiries into the subject have led me to the conviction, that innumerable parents create in their children that diseased craving for stimulants, which, with so many individuals, ends in open and violent intemperance, and with many more, in a constant use of ardent spirits, not much less injurious in its consequence. The united efforts of medical gentlemen, as of all those who are in the habit of instructing the people on important points, might produce a great change toward the better.

"Intemperance, however, which on all hands is admitted as the most fruitful source of crime in our country, will be certainly counteracted in a degree by universally spread education, for the reasons already mentioned; namely, because it trains and regulates the mind, connects the individual with stronger links to society, informs him in regard to his duties toward the Creator, the society he lives in, and toward himself and his family, and assists in producing self-respect.

"The facts which have lately appeared from the inquiries instituted in England as to the extent and consequences of intemperance in that country, the statements collected by Mr. Caspar, as to intemperance in Prussia, and many details given to the public by Mr. Quetelet, with regard to intemperance in France, show that the remark I have just made is also applicable to those countries.

"But is there no test, then, by which we may ascertain whether universal education tends to prevent crime, or whether ignorance promotes it? It seems to me that there is a means by which we may solve this question to the satisfaction of every fair inquirer,

namely, by ascertaining the degree of education which every convict has obtained. If we should find, that in a country in which few individuals grow up without some school instruction, an immense majority of convicts are men who have not received a fair school education, if thus ignorance almost always accompanies crime, and if, at the same time, it is easy to account for a connexion between the two, on general and simple grounds, drawn from the nature of our mind and of human society in general, I think we are authorized to conclude that there actually does exist a necessary connexion between the two, and that by diffusing knowledge of a moral and scientific character, we may hope for a decrease of crime, and be assured that though crime may in reality or apparently have increased for some reason, it would have increased still more without general education.

"The greatest circumspection, indeed, is necessary, in drawing conclusions from statistical statements. Many opinions, apparently founded in reality, have currently been believed for many years, and, in the end, been found to be erroneous. But if, as I have stated, repeated facts agree with the conclusions at which we would arrive in the most cautious way of reasoning by analogy, and on principles which are always considered to hold—and if, in particular, our conclusions are corroborated by those individuals, who, before all others, have a sound and practical knowledge of criminals, it would seem that we may adopt the result thus arrived at as truth.

"There is no warden or superintendent of any penitentiary of note, with which I am acquainted, who does not consider want of education, and ignorance, as some of the most active agents in producing crime; and if there be any subject connected with education, or any affairs of human society, respecting which the knowledge of practical men is more indispensable, or reasoning on which, without ample knowledge of facts, is more gratuitous, that subject is prison discipline and the true character of convicts. But, as will be seen from the following letters, there is but one opinion among these gentlemen.

"When I first saw the statements to which I have alluded at the beginning of this letter, I directed a series of queries to the wardens of our most prominent penitentiaries, and received from nearly all

of them the readiest answers, not, indeed, always, on all of my questions. This would have taken, in some cases, too much time, yet the statements with which the gentlemen favoured me are quite sufficient to prove, that not only education, but instruction, even in the most elementary knowledge, is very deficient in most convicts.

"As Mr. Wood, the warden of our Eastern Penitentiary, has given the answer on a number of my queries, in his last report on the penitentiary under his charge, to the Board of Inspectors, I shall give an extract from that quarter.

"As to the three other letters, they are too valuable not to be given without curtailment. They prove once more the facts, that—1. Deficient education, early loss of parents, and consequent neglect, are some of the most fruitful sources of crime.—2. That few convicts have ever learned a regular trade, and, if they were bound to any apprenticeship, they have abandoned it before the time had lawfully expired.—3. That school education is, with most convicts, very deficient, or entirely wanting.—4. That intemperance, very often the consequence of loose education, is a most appalling source of crime.—5. That by preventing intemperance, and by promoting education, we are authorized to believe that we shall prevent crime, in a considerable degree.

The extract from Mr. Wood's report, to which Dr. Lieber refers, has the following concluding paragraph.

"There are among mankind some who have been liberally educated, and carefully superintended during their youth, who nevertheless become abandoned, and we see others without these advantages, rise to the first stations in society; yet the disproportion is great. I therefore, believe, that had the two hundred and nineteen convicts above mentioned received a suitable education, both moral and physical, and been placed with good masters until twenty-one years of age, to learn some practical business, where they would be taught industry, economy, and morality, instead of spending their youth as they have, few of them would ever have been the inmates of a prison. All philanthropists agree, that the best mode of preventing crime, is properly to educate youth."

The agent of the Sing-Sing prison, Mr. Wiltse, in his reply to Dr. Lieber's inquiry, says "Whatever may be the fact in other countries, there can be little doubt that education, and early application to some kind of business, would have a powerful tendency to decrease crime. From my long intimacy with criminals, I have found that a large majority of convictions may be traced to the formation of bad habits in early life, from a total neglect on the part of their parents or guardians, in giving them education, and confining their attention to some systematic business."

The Rev. Mr. Smith, the chaplain of the Auburn State Prison states, that out of 670 prisoners, there were only three that had received a collegiate education, and eight that had received an academical education; and all the remainder had received only a very poor education, or none at all. Of the same 670, only 8 were total abstinent, 159 were moderate drinkers, and 503 were intemperate drinkers: while 402 had committed their crimes under the actual influence of spirituous liquors, and 257 had had intemperate parents.

Mr. Pillsbury, the Warden of Connecticut State Prison, answered the inquiries addressed to him, by saying, "The whole number of convicts in Connecticut State Prison is 180. No convict here has ever received either a college or classical education, nor has any one of such education ever been an inmate of this prison. The chaplain, who from 1827 to 1830 was acquainted with nearly 1000 convicts in the State prison at Sing-Sing, and with many other convicts in the prisons of Philadelphia, Baltimore,



and Auburn, had never known a liberally-educated convict in prison." He then states, that of 100 convicts who came to the prison, the usual proportion is not more than 8 who can read, write, and cypher, 75 in 100 acknowledged themselves to be habitual drunkards; and 44 in 100 admitted that they had committed their crimes while under the excitement of liquor; while there was not a single convict among all the number, who before his conviction could read and write, was of temperate habits, and followed a regular trade.

This last fact is as important as any that has been stated, and deserves especial notice, as well as the concluding paragraph of Mr. Pilsbury's reply, which seems to remove altogether the erroneous impression created, of an increase of crime corresponding to an increased extension of education. He says,

"Since the prison has been established in this place, some seven or eight years ago, the number of convicts has considerably increased, and hence, the French commissioners and English gentlemen may have naturally inferred, that there must have been an increase of crime in equal proportion. But the truth of this matter seems to lie here. As soon as the new prison was built, the criminal code was revised, and alterations made so as to punish a larger number of offences with confinement in the State prison. Besides, because the discipline of the prison was thought to have a strong tendency to reform those who came under its influence, and as such economy was used as to make the labour of the convicts more than meet the expenses of the whole establishment, the courts in the different counties were more than ever before inclined to sentence individuals to the State prison for the same offences. For some time past there has been a very manifest decrease in this State in the instances both of crime and convictions. Ever since last January there has been a diminution of at least twenty in the number of convicts."

Who is there, after this mass of evidence, as to ignorance and intemperance being the chief causes of crime, that will not admire and commend the rulers and legislators of America for doing their utmost to promote education and temperance ; and at the same time lament that Great Britain, with all the superior advantage of centuries of previous civilization, should be behind her own daughter, America, in this respect?

Many will remember the difficulty with which the comparatively small sum of 20,000*l.* was wrung from the ministry of England, for the building of school-houses, wherever the population of the district would furnish an equal amount to that which they required from the public funds ; while in the State of New York alone, the amount of the Common School fund is nearly two millions of dollars, of which nearly one million is paid yearly for teachers' wages, and the rest expended in the erection of school-houses, purchases of books, and supplies of fuel.

Many persons will also remember the opposition made by the government of England even to the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry as to the evils inflicted on the country by intemperance ; and the ridicule attempted to be thrown on every proposition for restricting the number of spirit-sellers, or placing the traffic under such restraints as would lessen its evils to the poorer classes of society ; while in America, the legislatures of Tennessee and Massachusetts have already passed laws prohibiting entirely the sale of ardent spirits in any quantities less than fifteen gallons to one person at a time, by which all tippling-houses and dram-shops are extin-

guished at a single blow; and the traffic restricted only to the dealers in large quantities, by which more than half the evils occasioned by intemperance are removed, and the example of these States will, it is believed, be speedily followed by others.

In connexion with the state of education in Albany, it should be mentioned, that in addition to an ample number of the Common Schools, for the general instruction of the humbler classes, and Sunday Schools attached to every church in the city, there are two first-rate institutions: one called "the Albany Academy," for the education of male youths only: and the other called, "The Albany Female Academy."

The Albany Academy was first instituted by the municipal body of the city, about the year 1813; and the munificent grant of 100,000 dollars, was made from the city funds, for the purpose of erecting the building. This is a large and substantial edifice of stone, with a centre and two wings, occupying a front of 90 feet, of three stories in height; the centre is surmounted by a turret or small steeple, and the whole is surrounded by an open space of green lawn. Its position is advantageous and commanding, occupying a portion of the hill on the north, while the Capitol occupies a corresponding site on the same hill on the south, with the great avenue of Washington Street running between them.

The Mayor and Recorder of the city are trustees, ex-officio, to whom are added others from the gentry and clergy of the city, to the number of sixteen in all: and these constitute the governing body of the institution.

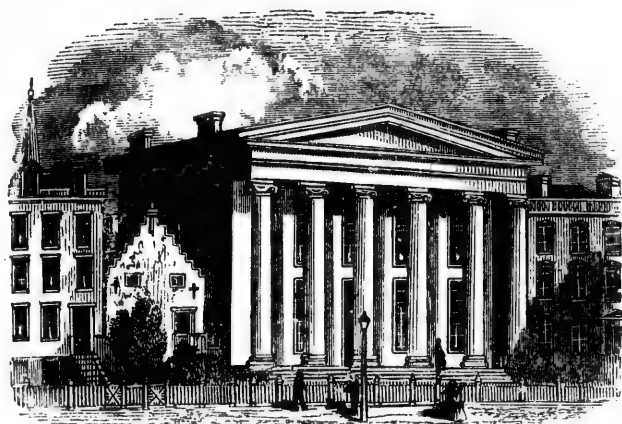
The faculty consists of the principal, a professor

of Latin and Greek, a professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, a professor of English literature, and a professor of modern languages; to which are added, the assistants and tutors in each department, and these are bound to adhere to the printed statutes, of which a copy is put into the hands of every student on entering.

The students are admitted from the age of six years and upwards, and are taught such branches of learning as their parents or guardians may prescribe. For this purpose, the course of tuition is divided into four branches. In the fourth class or department, the one into which the pupil first enters, he is taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, natural history, and general history. In the third class are taught the higher branches of geography, and grammatical construction of style, in prose and verse—the belles lettres, and elements of criticism, and exercises in composition and declamation. In the second class are taught the higher branches of arithmetic, book-keeping, algebra, mathematics, natural philosophy, architecture, mathematical geography, and drawing. In the first class are taught Latin and Greek, Roman and Grecian antiquities, mythology, ancient history, and biography.

The expense of each pupil, of which there are now about 300, in the several classes, is as follows: 28 dollars per annum for the first class; 20 dollars per annum for the second and third class; and 16 dollars per annum for the fourth class; and, as the building was provided by the funds of the State, it is found that this low scale of expense, from £3. 3s. to £5. 12s. per annum, is quite sufficient to remunerate

handsomely the principal, the professors, and the tutors, besides admitting the gratuitous education of a certain number of the best scholars of the Common or district schools, who are selected from year to year, according to their merit, by the trustees of the institution.



The Albany Female Academy, was commenced about the year 1817. The funds for its establishment were raised in shares of proprietors, amounting to 30,000 dollars; with this, a very fine and commodious building was erected in North Pearl Street, where its noble projecting portico, of the Ionic order, the pillars of which are about 6 feet in diameter, and 50 feet in height, add greatly to the architectural beauty of the street. This institution was intended to give to female youths all the advantages of the best classical and mathematical

education which is afforded in other institutions to male youths only ; and its whole arrangement is well adapted to this end.

It is under the government of 13 trustees, who are elected annually by the stockholders, and, who according to the charter, for both of these academies are incorporated, have the general management of its affairs. Its officers are, a president, secretary, and treasurer ; and its faculty consists of a professor of mental philosophy and rhetoric, a professor of natural philosophy, chemistry, and botany, a professor of the French and Spanish languages, and a professor of elocution and composition, in addition to which are teachers of sacred music, of the organ, harp, and piano-forte, of drawing, and of Latin and Greek.

There is a large and well-chosen library attached to the Institution, with maps, charts, globes, models, and an excellent chemical and philosophical apparatus. It contains, also, a cabinet of specimens in natural history, mineralogy and botany ; and the principal, Dr. Campbell, who lectures on biblical and Jewish antiquities, and the professor who lectures on physiology, have each an extensive set of well-executed transparent drawings for the illustration of their respective subjects.

There are two classes of pupils—those who come from the country, and board with the family of the principal or with the teachers—and those whose families reside in town. The former consist of about 140 ; and the expense of their board and education is from 200 to 225 dollars per annum. The number of the latter is about 250 ; and the cost of their

education is from 12 to 32 dollars per annum, according to the class in which they may be ; the lowest or 6th class being 3 dollars per quarter, and the highest or first class being 8 dollars per quarter.

This experiment, which has now been continued for upwards of twenty years, has proved abundantly what many still affect to disbelieve or doubt, that the female intellect is in no degree whatever inferior, in its capacity to receive and retain instruction, in the highest and most difficult branches of learning, to the male ; that their powers of application, and their zeal for information, is also quite equal to that of the other sex ; and that such differences as have hitherto existed between the intellectual condition of male and female youths, have been wholly owing to their being subjected to different modes of education.

The same defect which belongs to every plan of scholastic training that I have yet witnessed, characterizes this ; namely, that no portion of time seems to be allotted to physical training. There is neither walking, riding, gymnastics, nor any other fixed and regular exercises for the body. The consequence is, that among the 400 pupils of the Academy there did not seem a single example of vigorous or robust health. Slender forms, pale cheeks, and feeble physical powers, were the general characteristics : where the constant drain upon the mental powers, in the study of most of the subjects taught in the Academy, and particularly in geometry and the mathematics tended still more to enfeeble frames of great delicacy : and was calculated, as it seemed to me, to shorten life, as well as to make that portion which remained less healthy for the individuals



themselves, and less favourable for their offspring, than if they had two or three hours less of learning per day, and two or three hours of walking, riding, or gymnastic exercises, suited to their years and sex, in the open air.

It is a very general belief among the more elderly people of America, that the present race of female youths are greatly inferior in physical stamina to the preceding generation; and considering the mode of life they lead, with little or no systematic plan of exercise in the open air; with very early and severe application to studies while at school; correspondingly early introduction into life, passing from 15 to 17 amid the late hours and dissipation of fashionable parties, thinly clad, and especially during the most inclement parts of the winter; early marriages, from 16 to 18; and early bearing of children, with the drain upon the strength, of nursing; insufficient sleep, ill-prepared food, hasty and unmas-ticated meals, profusion of pastry, sweetcakes, and ice-creams, which destroy the appetite for more simple, and more nourishing food, and require frequent recourse to medicine; it is hardly to be wondered at, when all these deteriorating causes are considered, and their accumulated force from generation to generation, taken into account, that the effect should be a declining stamina in every succeeding race.

## CHAP. XVI.

Religious establishments in Albany—Number of churches possessed by each sect—Proportion of the whole population attending worship—Liberal support of the clergy or ministry—Beneficial effects of the voluntary system—Anecdote of a noble lord in America—Sunday schools and teachers in Albany—Most ancient churches of the city—Public buildings—the Capitol—the City hall—the new State hall—Newspapers of Albany, number and character—Specimens of political partizan warfare—Pugilistic encounter in the Hall of Congress—Causes of the excessive irritability of southern members—Parallel influences on the British in India—The same in naval officers of all nations.

NEXT to the establishments for education, those for religious worship deserve attention ; and these are here, as every where that we had yet visited, numerous, well furnished, and well sustained. The Methodists have the greatest number of churches, there being six belonging to that body of Christians. The Presbyterians come next, having five churches. The Dutch Reformed Religion has three, and the Baptist, three. The Episcopalians have two, St. Peter's and St. Paul's ; the Catholics have two, one of them a very fine building ; and the German Lutherans, the Universalists, and the Quakers, one each. There are thus 24 large churches, containing, in the whole, perhaps, accommodation in seats for 24,000 persons out of a population of 30,000, of which, taking into account the infants, the very aged, the sick, and the infirm, there will be always at least 6,000 or one-fifth

that could not attend public worship ; so that the means of religious observances are amply sufficient for every individual, who could possibly profit by them ; and, it is believed that at least 20,000 persons out of the 30,000, do really attend the places of public worship on the Sabbath in Albany.

The contrast which this offers to England is very remarkable. I have seen estimates, by which it appeared that not more than one in one hundred attended public worship in London ; and I think that in Norwich, where the churches are very numerous, and much zeal exerted to procure attendance, not more than twelve in one hundred, or about an eighth of the whole population frequented any church. It is probable, that in no part of England is there accommodation in the churches or chapels of the towns or districts for one-half the population of such places ; and it is doubtful where there is any town in England in which one-third of the entire population really attend regularly any place of worship ; while here at Albany, two-thirds of the whole community are found in attendance in one or other of the churches every Sunday.

The whole of these establishments are sustained by the voluntary system of support—each congregation first choosing, and then maintaining, its own pastor, which they do with great liberality—no minister receiving less than 1,000 dollars, or 200% per annum as regular stipend, besides presents at baptisms, weddings, &c., sometimes equal, on the whole, to the salary itself ; and others receiving 2,000 dollars per annum, with the same additional perquisites ; the scale of which may be inferred from the fact, that

while we were at Albany, a marriage was solemnized between two members of the same congregation, and a present of 500 dollars, or 10*l.* was sent to the minister on this occasion. The voluntary system of supporting religion, while it is certainly more agreeable to the parties who have to make the payments, is, on the whole, more uniformly beneficial to those who are paid; as the average incomes of religious teachers in America greatly exceeds the average incomes of the established clergy in England. Besides this, it leads to great care and circumspection on the part of the people who are to choose and pay their pastor, to see that he is in every respect an honour to their choice and worthy of their reward.

The consequence is, that an ill-educated or an immoral man cannot find his way into the American clergy. There is no opening of patronage, or interest, or purchase, by which he can make an entry into that body; and being carefully selected in the first instance, and having every conceivable motive for retaining his ground, and justifying the soundness of the choice, in the second; his zeal, industry, and correct conduct are all called forth to their utmost, and the greatest harmony of respect and affection almost uniformly reigns between the pastor and his flock. The estimation in which the clergy are held here, and the influence which they consequently exercise over the taste and conduct of the community, is much greater than it is in England; and thus it is that the churches are more uniformly filled, the services are altogether more decorous, more impressive, and more efficient; the seats more commodious, the furniture more substantial, the

singing and music more refined, as well as devotional; the prayers more earnest, the sermons more searching, and the congregations more influenced by religious motives or respect to religious principles and observances in their general conduct in society.

I remember to have heard here a curious anecdote of one of our distinguished legislators, which is worth recording. In a conversation, which I had with one of the State judges, resident in Albany, as to the opposite opinions entertained in England, on the subject of supporting religion by a State establishment, or by the voluntary system, I mentioned that I had myself heard debates in the English House of Commons, in which it was boldly asserted on the one side, that the flourishing condition of the churches of every sect in America, was sufficient proof of the excellence of the voluntary system of support for religion; while on the other hand, it was as warmly contended by those who were in favour of a State establishment, that the voluntary system had entirely failed in America, where there was a great deal less of religion and religious observances, than in England. I added, that these counter assertions staggered the doubting, who could not decide on the relative value of the conflicting evidence, especially when a nobleman of great talents, one of the ablest supporters of the State Church, and who, in addition to his rank, station, and ability, added the advantage of having travelled in America, allied himself to the latter party.

Upon hearing this, the learned judge said, "I do not wonder that this noble lord saw so little of the religion and the religious observances of the Ame-

icans, when he travelled among them; because I happen to remember being at Utica, where the court was then sitting at the period of his arrival in that city, accompanied by two other gentlemen now in the British Legislature; and on the Sunday when our religious observances are most apparent, these young English statesmen, and friends and advocates of an established church, set off in their carriage to the West, with their dogs and guns, on a shooting or sporting excursion, to the no small surprise of those who thought they might have all been much more appropriately employed."

Excessive zeal for the established church is, however, capable of a more easy solution than a belief that the voluntary system is not favourable to the interests of religion in America; and may be sometimes found, perhaps, in the fact, that deep interest at stake in the amount of church property, and church patronage, will obscure the perception of men of the most brilliant talents. If such inducements as these to advocate an established church, existed in America, I have no doubt that with the class who possessed these pecuniary advantages, the voluntary system would be just as unpopular here as it is with the same class in England. But put the question fairly on the issue of its merits, to be decided by impartial, because disinterested witnesses, and the number are very few in either country, whose judgments would not decide in its favour.

To every one of the churches in Albany, a Sunday School is attached, in which are educated and trained up in respect for religion, about 5,000 children; the duty of teachers in these schools is

performed by young persons of the first families of the city, of both sexes, who appear to take a great delight in this pure exercise of benevolence, by gratuitously instructing those who would otherwise remain ignorant, and devoting themselves for years to this service.

It appears from the ancient records of the corporation, that the first church in Albany was erected in the year 1656, the corner-stone of which was laid by Rutger Jacobson. It was of course a Dutch church. The bell and pulpit were sent from Holland in April, 1657. Previous to this time, divine service was performed in "The Fort," and afterwards in a small block-house erected for the purpose. This church, for which the bell was sent, continued to be used till the year 1715, a period of 59 years. At that time the church was found too small, and the inhabitants determined on erecting a larger one. But with characteristic fondness for preaching, and for divine service generally, it was resolved that the old church should be used during the period that the new church was erecting over it. It was accordingly so managed, that while the new church was in progress, enclosing the old one, not a single Sunday was lost in preaching in the latter. In 1806, the new church was opened, and the old one demolished; and it is stated, that a Dutchman of the name of Onderkirk, was the first person christened in that church, and the last one buried at the sound of its bell.

The next oldest place of worship in Albany, was St. Peter's church, the foundation of which was laid in 1705, in the reign of Queen Anne, who



presented it with plate for the communion service. The inscription on the new one erected in its stead in State Street, is as follows: "Glory to the Lord, for he is good—for his mercy endureth for ever—Saint Peter's Church—formerly standing in the centre of State Street, at its intersection with Barrack Street; built A.D. 1705—incorporated A.D. 1802."

Of the other public buildings, the Capitol, or Legislative Hall, is one of the most prominent. It stands on the summit of the hill, or highest part of the city of Albany, and terminates the upward vista of State Street, from the river, as the Albany Academy terminates the vista of Steuben Street, each having their foundations at an elevation of 130 feet above the Hudson. It is a fine building of stone, 115 feet in front, 90 feet in depth, and 50 feet in height, independently of the small tower arising from the centre, on the summit of which stands a figure of Justice. It has a basement of 10 feet and two stories above that. The east front looking down State Street, towards the river, has an Ionic portico of 4 pillars, about 33 feet in height; and in the interior are the two halls of legislation, for the Senate and the Assembly, with the Supreme court of justice, and the court of Chancery for the State, the State library consisting of 30,000 volumes, and other rooms for committees and public business. The various rooms are well proportioned, and well adapted to their respective purposes; they are adorned with full-length portraits of Washington, of the several governors of the State, in succession, of the several chancellors of the State also, with portraits and busts of other public characters of America.

The City Hall, which is not far from the Capitol, and which is used for municipal business transacted by the mayor and corporation, who form the local government of the town, is also a fine edifice, built of white marble, and surmounted by a dome, which is gilded, and is a conspicuous object from afar on approaching the city.

A new State Hall is now in progress of building, constructed also of white marble, and in the neighbourhood of the Capitol, the Academy, and the City Hall. This is to contain all the public offices for the various state officers, such as the secretary of state, comptroller, treasurer, surveyor-general, attorney-general, and others.

Of newspapers, there are four in Albany—three daily, and one weekly. Of the daily, there are two morning and one evening paper. "The Argus," published in the morning, is conducted by the gentleman who holds the office of State printer, which is very lucrative; and he, of course supports the existing administration, or is, in other words, highly democratic, the local government of the State according with the general government of the Union, it being in the hands of the democratic party at present. The other morning paper, "The Daily Advertiser," is Whig, or opposed to the present administration; so is "The Evening Journal," while "The Family Weekly Newspaper" is on the democratic side; so that in number of organs, the forces are well balanced; and in ability, the talent appears as equally divided. Here, however, as everywhere else in America, the most violent language is used by the writers of one party towards those of another; and so entirely

partial are both, that no stranger could ever arrive at the truth, without comparing the statements of the one side with those of the other, which, however, are often so directly opposite, even in matters of fact, that it is difficult to know how much to allow for misrepresentation in both.

As an instance, the following may be cited. The State authorities being in want of a house for some public purpose, and the State printer (the editor of the *Argus*) having one well adapted to such purpose, it was purchased of him by the authorities for what was considered a fair and just price. If the house had belonged to any person else, the matter would, perhaps, never have been heard of more; but belonging to the democratic editor, it became the subject of the most unsparing attacks, and imputations of corruption, bribery, fraudulent misapplication of the public money, and so on, for days and weeks in succession; the papers on each side making it the subject of a bitter partisan warfare throughout the State.

The following, from a neighbouring journal, is the shortest specimen that can be given of the sort of language used by the editors, of and towards each other in this criminating and recriminating kind of controversy:—

“The Cooperstown Freeman’s Journal concludes a brief notice of the misrepresentations on this subject, with the following remark:—

“We ought not to close our passing notice of this without, at least, adverting to the character of the *source* whence these black and damning charges, upon gentlemen equal in integrity and respectability to any in this or any other State, proceed. They have their origin with the Albany Evening Journal; a paper which, in its

dealings with the character and conduct of others, and with matters of fact, repudiates as well the binding force of the received obligations of honourable courtesy, as the still higher obligation of a sacred regard for truth. With such characteristics, it is not surprising that it has earned the contempt of all honourable men.'"

One of the most ludicrous exhibitions of this party spirit that I remember yet to have heard of, is contained in the following paragraph, taken from one of the New York papers of July, 1838 :—

"REMOVAL OF A HEARSE-DRIVER.—The Whig authorities of New-Haven, have removed Mr. Willoughby, a worthy man, from the place of hearse-driver, and appointed another person in his place, on account of his whig principles. 'For the first time,' says the Hartford Times, 'since the creation of the world down to the present year of 1838, this humble station is made political.'"

Another instance of the eagerness with which every incident is caught up, and made to subserve some party purpose, either by elevating the one side or depressing the other, may be given from the Albany Argus of July 13, which contained the following paragraph :—

"WHIG CHARACTERISTICS.—As the late session of Congress commenced in violence, personal and otherwise, on the part of the federal and bank bullies, and was early marked with blood (in the duel by which Mr. Cilley was killed by Mr. Graves, and in which Mr. Wise was the second of the latter,) so it has now very appropriately terminated with an affair of fisticuffs, between two whig members from Tennessee. The circumstances are thus told by a Washington correspondent of the New York American, under date of the 9th instant :—

"'Yesterday morning (Holy Sunday,) Messrs. Campbell and Maury, of Tennessee, had a pugilistic encounter in the house, a few minutes after it adjourned. They were much bruised, and each received a brace of black eyes. The circumstances were as follow :

It appears that early on Sunday morning Mr. Maury was very active in procuring a call of the house, in order to show to the country who were the delinquents. Mr. Campbell was among the absentees, and was brought to the bar with the rest in custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms. At eight o'clock, when the house adjourned, the latter went to his colleague and reproached him for his conduct, in aiding the call, at the same time alleging that Mr. M. had done it with a view to injure him (Mr. C.) at home among his constituents. Crimination and recrimination followed, and each gentleman honoured his opponent with the epithet of 'liar,' 'scoundrel,' and so forth. As might be expected, a personal conflict was the result, and blows were bestowed in abundance. Not more than five members remained when the *fracas* commenced, and they, of course, did not attempt to interfere. After the belligerents had belaboured each other to their hearts' content, they suspended hostilities, and retired to their respective homes, and have not been seen since. It is said they are so well satisfied with their mutual inflictions, that no doubts are entertained as to further proceedings."

Now it was certainly not because they were both Whigs, that these members thus assaulted each other, but because they were both hot-blooded young Southerners, residents in, and representatives from, a slave State, brought up in the almost uncontrouled exercise of their irresponsible will over those subject to their authority; and, therefore, impetuous and ungovernable even among their equals, when their passions are excited by opposition.

It would have been far more just, therefore, to have headed such a paragraph by the words "Southern Characteristics," or "Southern Impetuosity," or some such title, and have drawn from it the same lesson as should be drawn from the murder of a member of the Arkansas legislature by the Speaker descending from his chair, and stabbing the offending member to the heart on the floor, and from the constant duels and

assassinations with which the Southern States are so stained; all of which proves this:—that wherever the institution of slavery exists, and any one class of men may exercise with impunity, uncontrolled and irresponsible power over any other class of men, they can hardly fail to have all their angry and vindictive passions frequently called forth and continually strengthened by exercise; and hence it forms a part of the general character of persons bred up under such unfavourable circumstances, to be more fiery, impetuous, and ungovernable, even among their own class, when once excited.

It happened that during our stay at Washington we lived in the same house, and breakfasted and dined daily at the same table, with the two young members from Tennessee, Mr. Maury, and Mr. Campbell, as well as with Mr. Wise from Virginia: and during a familiar intercourse of many weeks we had an opportunity of knowing that they were generally mild, amiable, courteous, and generous, when all things went smoothly; but their impulses were so strong that they were all far more under the dominion of feeling than of reason, a state which, with very few exceptions, is common to all the high-bred youths of the South, and, indeed, to the white population there generally; and is to be attributed wholly, as it seems to me, to the influence of Slave institutions.

In the same spirit, and from the operation of the same causes, the British youths in India, whether in the civil or the military service, act with more violence towards the Hindoos and Mohamedans subject to their authority, than they would dare to do among

the inferior ranks of their own countrymen at home ; and thus progressively acquire a habit of arrogance and hauteur, of domineering, or as it is called in India "bahaudering," at last over their equals, so that quarrels are more quickly excited and more difficult to allay, duels are more frequent, and the exercise of all the angry passions more uncontrolled. The same is the case with young officers trained up as midshipmen and lieutenants, in the French, the American, and the British navies ; the same with commanders of ships generally, and, in short, of all classes and in all nations, who begin by too early an exercise of an uncontrolled power over others, and grow as it were unconsciously to be tyrants, without, however, being able to exercise any restraining dominion over themselves ; thus truly has the poet said,

"Man, proud man,  
Drest in a little brief authority,  
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven,  
As make the angels weep."



## CHAP. XVII.

Population of Albany—Numbers and classes—Character of Mr. Van Ransalear, the patroon—Influence of Dutch descent on social manners—Early hours, and general gravity of demeanour—Theatres, concerts, and balls, not popular—Opinion of American writers on democracy—Its influence in producing mediocrity of taste—Objections to acknowledge masters by servants—Celebration of the national independence, 4th of July—Order of the processions and exercises—Venerable aspect of the heroes of the revolution—Procession of the young men's association—Odes and original poems on the occasion—Public amusements—Evening serenade—Order, sobriety, and decorum of the day—History of the temperance reform in Albany—Character and labours of Mr. E. C. Delavan—Opposition of the rich—Backed by the clergy—Wide field yet open for temperance efforts—Examples of disaster from rum and gunpowder—Lines in commemoration of the 4th of July—Climate of Albany—Extreme cold and heat—Excessive heat at all the great cities—Ludicrous effects attributed to this—Badness of the pavements in America—Deficiency of benevolent institutions in Albany—Visit to the orphan asylum there—History of its origin and funds—Description of the establishment—Successful experiment on vegetable diet—Exercises of the children in geography—Patriotic speech of one of the pupils—Republican hymn—Air of God save the king—Effect of such exercises on the youthful mind—Annual cost, and weekly expense of each orphan—Unsatisfactory visit to the Albany museum.

THE population of Albany was, at the last census of 1830, ascertained to be 28,109; and at present it is estimated to exceed 30,000. Among these there are fewer coloured persons than we had yet seen in any part of America, the domestic servants being mostly Irish, from among the emigrants who pass through this city on their way to the West.

There is also less of inequality in the condition of the families residing here, than in the larger cities on the sea-coast. There are much fewer who are very rich—and scarcely any who are very poor. The individual of the greatest wealth, perhaps, in the State, it is true, resides here, but he is only one: the fortunes of most of the other wealthy men here being much more moderate.

This is the celebrated Stephen Van Ranssalear, known by the name of "The Patroon," a word derived from the Dutch, and corresponding in its meaning, it is said, to our English phrase of "lord of the manor." This gentleman's ancestor was one of the earliest of the Dutch settlers here; and had a grant of land, extending for 24 miles along the banks of the river, and 24 miles inland, at that time an uncleared wilderness, but now a princely domain. This has descended, by the custom of primogeniture, to the present possessor: but a law of the State of New York, passed some time since, having prohibited such custom in future, the property will, at his death, be divided among his children.

In addition to his territorial and patrimonial wealth, "The Patroon" some years since was obliged to take, in payment of a bad debt of 50,000 dollars then owing to him, a tract of land near New York; and another in the west of this State, which he then considered a great hardship, as it was comparatively valueless. Increased population, and the progressive improvement of the country, have made these tracts, however, so valuable, that, it is said, his whole property, patrimonial and otherwise, yields him a clear income of more than a million of dollars, or £200,000

sterling per annum. I have no means of ascertaining whether this is strictly true; but such is the general opinion; and the extent of the territory, and the number of farms and houses belonging to him, render it extremely probable.

This old gentleman is now upwards of 70 years of age, and feeble. He has led, however, so just and virtuous a life, and been so generous and liberal with his wealth, that he is universally respected and beloved. He has been also most happy in the honourable conduct of his children, whose large expectations have not made them at all less anxious to recommend themselves to the esteem of their neighbours, with whom they mingle on terms of the most friendly equality, and lead the most rational, and least ostentatious life imaginable. Altogether their presence and influence seems to be felt as a blessing to the community.\*

Besides the family of the Van Ranssalears, there are many others of Dutch descent, more, perhaps, than in any other community in America. These, in their number and ramifications, give a great gravity and decorum to the general tone of society here. There is less of show, in houses, carriages, and horses; less of formal visiting, and large and expensive parties; less of ceremony and etiquette in visiting; very early hours for meals—seven for breakfast, two for dinner, and six for tea; plainer and more simple fare at each, than in the larger towns; and instead of persons living, as they too frequently do in the large commercial cities, at a rate beyond their income, and then winding up, after a career of

\* This venerable and excellent man has since descended to the grave.

extravagance, in a state of insolvency, every family here lives much within its income, and lays by accumulated means for the succeeding generation.

The winter is the period when Albany is fullest of residents and strangers, for at that season of the year the legislature and the courts are in session ; and at that time, besides the families of the legislators, and the members of the bench and the bar, a great number of families come in from the country to stay for the winter. There is then somewhat more of gaiety than in the summer, though even then there is less than in most other cities.

The theatre is rarely frequented, except when Mr. Forrest, or some very attractive performer, comes, and then only by a small class of the population. Concerts are not often given : and it may serve to show the feelings of a large portion of the influential classes towards public singers generally, to mention that Madame Caradori Allen, who gave a concert at Troy, six miles off, with only half the population of Albany, was unable to give a concert here, because the only eligible room for that purpose, which is a spacious hall, forming the chapel of the Female Academy, was refused to her by the trustees, on the ground of her being also an *actress*, though it had been granted to Mr. Russell, a vocalist, who was only a *singer* ! Balls are not frequent, nor very largely attended ; and, in short, the grave influence of Dutch descent, mingled with the religious influence of the Puritan settlers of New England, many of whose descendants reside here engaged in business, contribute jointly to give a more quiet and sober air

to everything done in the city, than even the Quaker influence spreads over Philadelphia.

An English writer would perhaps be blamed for saying that the consequence of these influences was a decided mediocrity in public taste, in matters of public attainment, or public execution. But from one of their own writers it may be less unpalatable. Of the fact there can be no doubt ; as to the causes, there may be diversity of opinion. Mr. Cooper, the American author, in his late work on the Democracy of America, thus accounts for it :—

“The tendency of democracies is, in all things, to mediocrity, since the tastes, knowledge, and principles of the majority form the tribunal of appeal. This circumstance, while it certainly serves to elevate the average qualities of a nation, renders the introduction of a high standard difficult. Thus do we find in literature, the arts, architecture, and in all acquired knowledge, a tendency in America to gravitate towards the common centre in this, as in other things ; lending a value and estimation to mediocrity, that are not elsewhere given. It is fair to expect, however, that a foundation so broad may in time sustain a superstructure of commensurate proportions, and that the influence of masses will in this, as in the other interests, have a generally beneficial effect. Still it should not be forgotten, that, with the exception of those works, of which, as they appeal to human sympathies or the practices of men, an intelligent public is the best judge ; the mass of no community is qualified to decide the most correctly on any thing, which, in its nature, is above its reach.”

From the influence of the same spirit of Democracy, there is a great reluctance to admit the existence of inequality of condition, and this disposition grows stronger and stronger in proportion to the degree in which the inequality really does exist. Among the rich, for instance, there is no such

reluctance at all ; among the middle classes it is felt to a moderate extent ; but among servants, it is at its maximum. On this subject Mr. Cooper has the following accurate remarks :—

“ In consequence of the domestic servants of America having once been negro-slaves, a prejudice has arisen among the labouring classes of the whites, who not only dislike the term servant, but have also rejected that of master. So far has this prejudice gone, that in lieu of the latter, they have resorted to the use of the word *boss*, which has precisely the same meaning in Dutch ! How far a subterfuge of this nature is worthy of a manly and common-sense people, will admit of question.

“ A similar objection may be made to the use of the word ‘help,’ which is not only an innovation on a just and established term, but which does not properly convey the meaning intended. They who aid their masters in the toil may be deemed ‘helps,’ but they who perform all the labour, do not assist, or help to do the thing, but they do it themselves. A man does not usually hire his cook to *help* him to cook his dinner, but to cook it herself. Nothing is therefore gained, while something is lost in simplicity and clearness, by the substitution of new and imperfect terms, for the long established words of the language. In all cases in which the people of America have retained the *things* of their ancestors, they should not be ashamed to keep the *names*.”

Another mode in which this feeling displays itself in almost all classes of the community, is the tendency of the public orators to administer largely of flattery to the popular assemblies they address ; and the consequent craving after praise and adulation among those who are addressed, accompanied with a sensitiveness of the quickest kind, to any idea or hint that anything American is imperfect. I have nowhere seen this national failing more happily expressed than in a very beautiful address delivered by Mr. Nicholas Biddle, the President of the United States’

Bank, to the alumni of the college at Princetown, in New Jersey, on one of their late anniversaries ; and as a travelled American, familiar with foreign countries, and thoroughly conversant with his own, no man could more faithfully depict this failing of his fellow-citizens, than he has done it in the following passage ; in which he speaks of the arts of public candidates for political office, and their flatteries of their constituents :—

“ Our sovereignty, our virtues, our talents, are the daily themes of eulogy ; they assure us that we are the best and wisest of the human race—that their highest glory is to be the instruments of our pleasure, and that they will never act, nor think, nor speak, but as we direct them. If we name them to executive stations, they promise to execute only what we desire—if we send them to deliberative bodies, they engage never to deliberate, but be guided solely by the light of our intuitive wisdom. Startled at first by language, which, when addressed to other sovereigns, we are accustomed to ridicule for its abject sycophancy, constant repetition makes it less incredible. By degrees, although we may not believe all the praise, we cannot doubt the praiser, till at last we become so spoiled by adulation, that truth is unwelcome. If it comes from a stranger, it must be prejudice—if from a native, scarce less than treason ; and when some unhappy traveller ventures to smile at follies which we will not see, or dare not acknowledge, instead of disregarding it, or being amused by it, or profiting by it, we resent it as an indignity to our sovereign perfections. This childish sensitiveness would be only ludicrous, if it did not expose us to the seduction of those who flatter us only till they are able to betray us—as men praise what they mean to sell—treating us like pagan idols, caressed till we have granted away our power—and then scourged for our impotence.”

If this be true as respects the public orators of political parties, it is equally so with those other organs of political sentiments, the public journals, in



which the habit of exaggeration in all things, of adulation towards their own party, and denunciation of every other, is carried to an extent unparalleled, I think, in any other age or country. On this subject, too, I do not think it so safe to give my own opinion only, lest its accuracy or sincerity might be doubted, as to refer again to an American authority, Mr. Cooper, who, in his chapter on the American press, says:—

“The newspaper press of this country is distinguished from that of Europe in several essential particulars. While there are more prints, they are generally of a lower character. It follows that in all in which they are useful, their utility is more diffused through society, and in all in which they are hurtful, the injury they inflict is more wide-spread and corrupting.

“The great number of newspapers in America, is a cause of there being so little capital, and consequently so little intelligence, employed in their management. It is also a reason of the inexactitude of much of the news they circulate. It requires a larger investment of capital than is usual in this country, to obtain correct information; while, on the other hand, the great competition renders editors reckless and impatient to fill their columns. To these circumstances may be added the greater influence of vague and unfounded rumours in a vast and thinly settled country, than on a compact population, covering a small surface.

“Discreet and observing men have questioned, whether, after excluding the notices of deaths and marriages, one half of the circumstances that are related in the newspapers of America, as facts, are true in their essential features; and, in cases connected with party politics, it may be questioned if even so large a proportion can be set down as accurate.

“This is a terrible picture to contemplate, for when the number of prints is remembered, and the avidity with which they are read is brought into the account, we are made to perceive that the entire nation, in a moral sense, breathes an atmosphere of falsehoods. There is little use, however, in concealing the truth; on the con-

trary, the dread in which public men and writers commonly stand of the power of the press to injure them, has permitted the evil to extend so far, that it is scarcely exceeding the bounds of a just alarm, to say, that the country cannot much longer exist in safety under the malign influence that now overshadows it. Any one, who has lived long enough to note changes of the sort, must have perceived how fast men of probity and virtue are losing their influence in the country, to be superseded by those who scarcely deem an affectation of the higher qualities necessary to their success. This fearful change must, in a great measure, be ascribed to the corruption of the public press, which, as a whole, owes its existence to the schemes of interested political adventurers.

"If newspapers are useful in overthrowing tyrants, it is only to establish a tyranny of their own. The press tyrannizes over public men, letters, the arts, the stage, and even over private life. Under the pretence of protecting public morals, it is corrupting them to the core; and under the semblance of maintaining liberty, it is gradually establishing a despotism as ruthless, as grasping, and one that is quite as vulgar as that of any Christian state known. With loud professions of freedom of opinion, there is no tolerance; with a parade of patriotism, no sacrifice of interests; and with fulsome panegyrics on propriety, too frequently no decency.

"In America, while the contest was for great principles, the press aided in elevating the common character, in improving the common mind, and in maintaining the common interests; but since the contest has ceased, and the struggle has become one purely of selfishness and personal interests, it is employed, as a whole, in fast undermining its own work, and in preparing the nation for some terrible reverses, if not in calling down upon it a just judgment of God.

"As the press of this country now exists, it would seem to be expressly devised, by the great agent of mischief, to depress and destroy all that is good, and to elevate and advance all that is evil, in the nation. The little truth that is urged, is usually urged coarsely, weakened and rendered vicious by personalities; while those who live by falsehoods, fallacies, enmities, partialities, and the schemes of the designing, find the press the very instrument that the devils would invent to effect their designs."

I am satisfied, from my intercourse with American society thus far, that Mr. Cooper is not singular in his opinions; but that a very large proportion of the more intelligent classes of the community agree with him, though they may not think it prudent to make their views on this head so public as Mr. Cooper has done.

There is one effect, however, which it has already produced, and which in some degree tends to counteract a portion of the evil; namely, that the readers of the public journals attach little or no importance to the *opinions* of the editors, and are never very confiding as to the accuracy of the *facts*. A leading article, therefore, on either side of any question in a party newspaper, is in general so much labour lost, as it falls dead on the minds of all but those who are of the same way of thinking already, and to them it is of course mere surplusage.

But this, though it prevents the undue influence of that which is false in fact, and insincere in opinion, is itself an evil of another kind, as it destroys nearly all the utility of public journals, which must be great in proportion to the integrity with which they are conducted, and the confidence which their readers can place in the veracity and sincerity of those who write in them.

During our stay in Albany, we witnessed, for the first time, the celebration of the great National Festivity of America—the Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, on the 4th of July, now observed for the 62d time; and we were much gratified by what we saw. The day was extremely fine—all business appeared to be suspended; and

every one was devoted to the enjoyment of holiday. The day-break was announced by a discharge of cannon; and at sunrise, a salute of 13 guns was fired, in honour of the 13 original States that united in the Declaration of Independence. This was followed by the ringing of the bells of all the churches; so that as early as five o'clock, the whole city was awake, and in motion. At ten o'clock, the procession (formed to march through the town, on their way to the first reformed Dutch church, where the "exercises," as all proceedings of public meetings are here called, were to take place,) was put in motion; and as they passed before our window in Pearl Street, we saw the whole to great advantage. The procession was under the direction of the adjutant-general of the State and the marshal of the day, assisted by several military officers, and moved in the following order :

MILITARY ESCORT.

Captain Strain's Albany Republican Artillery.

Captain Brown's Albany Union Guards.

MILITARY AND CIVIC ASSOCIATIONS.

Officers of the United States Army and Navy.

Albany Military Association.

Orator and Reader.

Revolutionary Officers and Soldiers, in carriages.

The Reverend the Clergy.

Executive of the State.

PHILADELPHIA STATE FENCIBLES.

Albany Burgesses Corps

The Common Council, preceded by its officers.

Sheriff and his officers.

Heads of the departments of the State, Chancellor, Judges of the United States, State and County Courts, preceded by their Marshals.

Fire Department, and the several Engine Companies with their Engines, Hook and Ladder, and Axe Companies under the direction of the Chief Engineer.

The Van Rensselaer Guards.

St. Andrew's Society.

Union Benevolent Society of Journeymen Tailors.

Albany Mechanics' Benefit Society.

Hibernian Provident Society.

Saddle and Harness Makers' Society.

St. Patrick's Benevolent Society.

Citizens and Strangers.

The military had really a fine appearance, being well dressed, well equipped, and well disciplined; the bands of music, of which there were several, were all good, and one very superior; the various companies and societies, all habited in some peculiar costume, or distinguished by some peculiar badge, looked remarkably well; and the populace, who thronged the foot-pavement on each side of the street, while the procession filled the centre, were as well dressed, as orderly, and as evidently interested in the proceedings of the day, as the best friend of the republic could desire. What we missed was, the waving of handkerchiefs from the windows and balconies, and the shouts and cheers of the multitude, which usually accompany such processions in England. But the Americans are more decorous than enthusiastic; and the staid and grave manners derived from the Dutch at Albany, make them quite as grave and silent on all public occasions, as the Quaker population of Philadelphia.

The part of the procession which touched us most, and made unbidden tears, not of joy or sorrow, but of mere exuberance of sympathy and feeling, start

involuntarily into our eyes, was the sight of the veteran heroes of the revolution, as they passed in the open carriages that contained them. As sixty-two years have passed away since the Declaration of Independence, the number of those who actually fought in the war of the revolution is now very small, and they are, of course, every year diminishing; so that in a few years more they will all have descended to the tomb. The veterans we saw were all above 80 years of age, and the oldest of them was 96. The hoary locks which were visible on each, with the associations which their years and services awakened, impressed us more powerfully than anything we had yet witnessed in the country; and it was evident, from the demeanour and bearing of all parties, young and old, toward these veterans as they passed, that one universal sentiment of veneration and respect for their age and character, pervaded all classes.

In the church, which was crowded in every part, the exercises consisted of music by the choir, prayer by the pastor, the reading of the Declaration of Independence by one of the citizens, and an oration in honour of the day by another—all of which were well performed; and on the procession passing from the church, it marched to the City Hall, and after a discharge of volleys dispersed.

In the afternoon, a second public procession was formed by the members of the Young Man's Association, a body combined for mutual instruction; and this, while it was less military, was more literary—in keeping with the character of the institution. They marched from their rooms in the Knickerbocker Hall to the second Presbyterian church, in regular order;

and, in addition to the usual exercises of the day, similar to those performed in the morning, there were three original odes, all written expressly for the occasion by ladies of the city, one by a pupil of the Female Academy, and each highly creditable to the talents of their writers; with a longer poem, by a gentleman of Albany, and member of the association.

In the evening, the public places of amusement were all open, and illuminations and fire-works were exhibited at different quarters of the city. There was also a great public dinner held in one of the domed edifices, about 500 yards from our dwelling, from whence the cheers and huzzas came so loud and so frequent over the toasts that were drank, as to excite some apprehension for the perfect sobriety of the guests. There were, indeed, some instances of intemperance visible in the streets, but they did not amount to half a dozen, and were among the humblest class of labourers; so that the general sobriety of the day was one of its most remarkable and most pleasing features.

The day was closed by a delightful serenade of music opposite the house of the governor, W. L. Marcy, which, as it adjoined our own residence, we enjoyed in perfection. The night was delicious, after the warmth of the day; and the moon, now just about the full, was really brilliant. The busy hum of the streets was hushed; for though there were still hundreds of well-dressed persons, of both sexes, taking their evening walks beneath the trees that here, as at Philadelphia and most other American cities, line the pavement on either side, yet the sound of their footsteps could scarcely be heard. The band



was of first-rate excellence: we understood that it came up from Philadelphia with the State Fencibles, that it was under the training of a coloured man, named Frank Johnson, who was an able musician, and who, having recently been in Europe, had come back greatly improved. The only military bands I ever remember to have heard superior to it were the royal band that attends at the Palace of St. James's in London, and the band of the National Guards at Paris. The music, too, was as well chosen as it was well executed; and our only regret was when it ceased, which was not, however, till nearly midnight.

One of the causes, if not the principal cause, of the general temperance of the people of Albany, is the influence exerted by the operations of the New York State Temperance Society, of which this has, for many years past, been the headquarters. Mainly through the philanthropy, zeal, and liberality, of one individual, Mr. E. C. Delavan, who, having acquired a handsome fortune in trade, devoted the leisure of his retirement, and the use of his funds, to various benevolent objects, the attention of the American public was first roused to the tremendous evils which intemperance inflicted on the country, and the importance of checking its further progress.

It was here the first Temperance journal was established by him, and conducted with so much ability and success, that it attained to the possession of 300,000 subscribers throughout the Union. Here also Temperance conventions were held, resolutions adopted, circulars, and agents despatched, funds pro-

vided, and all the great machinery of the temperance reform set in motion. It was to have been expected that the large class of persons who are interested in the importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating drinks,—a powerful array of numbers who fatten on the miseries which their traffic inflicts on others—should be violently opposed to him, as they were: but it was hardly to be expected, that because he considered wine to be as much an agent in producing intemperance among certain classes, and beer and cider among certain others, as ardent spirits among that class who alone can consume them—and because he boldly proclaimed this truth, and based on it his advocacy of total abstinence from all that can intoxicate, as the only safe rule of action for those who desire to add example to precept in favour of temperance reform—it was hardly to be expected that because of this, he would be set upon and persecuted by the opulent and influential among the laity, and the professed friends of temperance even among the clergy. Yet so it was; and this persecution, for it was nothing short of it, deserves to be numbered among the dark chapters of the history of Albany.

But their triumph was but for a season. The true principle of hostility to intemperance, and all that can occasion it, is gaining ground among the rational of all classes, as much more consistent with Christian virtue, and with social expediency, than the absurd, and selfish war of the rich against ardent spirits, which are drank chiefly by the poor, while indulging the free use of wine, beer, and cider, because these are consumed by themselves; thus realiz-

ing the picture of the class described by Hudibras, who,

“Compound for sins they are inclined to,  
By damning those they have no mind to.”

Mr. Delavan, nothing daunted by this opposition, still devotes nearly all his time, and a very large portion of his ample fortune, to the promotion of the temperance cause; and his labours are abundantly rewarded with success. The field, however, is still ample for the exercise of all the exertions that can be used, to rescue the country and the people from the curse of intoxicating liquors. Here is a paragraph from a newspaper of the very morning on which I am writing this, (July 5,) and scarcely a journal can be taken up on any day of the week, that does not contain some melancholy proof of the evils of excessive drinking:—

“EFFECTS OF RUM.—A miserable being died in the county-jail, in this town, on Sunday morning, from the effects of former excess in drinking rum. His name was John H. Frothingham, of Salem, his age 26. He was committed the last of May for drunkenness, and has had the delirium tremens since his confinement. His passion for rum was insatiable. It is said that he once broke into a distillery in Salem; and finding nothing to drink with, threw himself upon his back under a pipe of rum, turned the cock, and let the stream run into his mouth; when he became full, he was insensible, and could not turn back the cock, and the contents of the pipe were discharged on the ground. He was found insensible in the morning, and with much difficulty resuscitated.”—*Northampton Gazette*.

It is on great festive occasions, like the 4th of July, however, that the greatest amount of this evil is seen concentrated into the smallest space of time,

and the chief agent in producing them is intoxicating drink, the conviction of which is now becoming general; and as proof of this, the following paragraph is taken from the journal of a neighbouring town, not twenty miles from Albany, dated on the 6th of July:—

“DREADFUL DISASTER AND LOSS OF LIFE ON THE 4TH INST.—  
Ever since we paid any attention to the subject, we have noticed that every anniversary of our national independence for many years past has been marked with the destruction of human life; and we now unreservedly yield to the opinion, that these anniversaries should ever after be celebrated *without either powder or rum*. To these two causes exclusively are all the accidents which we are called upon so often to deplore, to be attributed. It was hoped and believed that the late anniversary in this city would have passed off without such accidents; but, alas, how sadly have we been disappointed.”

It was a conviction of the additional dangers which this day presented to the intemperate, that led the Temperance Societies throughout the Union to determine on celebrating this great national anniversary, whenever they could, as a temperance festival; and to what extent this has been accomplished throughout the Union, may be judged of from the fact, that more than one hundred such temperance festivals were held on this 4th of July in the single State of New York alone, and all without a single accident. Having been unable to attend in person at the very many celebrations to which I was invited, I endeavoured to contribute my share towards the utility of such festivals, by penning, while under considerable indisposition, some lines adapted to the occasion, which were printed in many of the journals favourable to the temperance cause, and thus had an extensive

circulation over the State on the day to which they related.\*

Among the various modes of celebrating the national anniversary of the 4th of July, there was none more happy than that of the Sunday School Union, at New York, who took an excursion of pleasure on the beautiful river Hudson, in steam-boats and barges, with upwards of two thousand pupils, teachers, and guests, and passed a sober, rational, and delightful day. The journal of their voyage is full of moral interest, and it will be an example for others to follow. The temperance celebrations were very numerous throughout the Union, and many of the most distinguished characters of America assisted at them.

The climate of Albany is characterized by the two extremes of excessive cold in the winter, and intense heat in the summer. In the winter, which often lasts six months, the river is for great part of the time frozen over so hard, that the most heavily-laden waggons pass daily in numbers over the ice. In some severe winters the thermometer is said to have stood at 35° below zero; but no winter ever passes without its falling some degrees below it. The spring and autumn do not exceed a month each: and the short summer, of four months, is remarkable for intense heat. During the three weeks of our stay here, the thermometer was always above 80°, frequently above 90°; and on three or four successive days, nearly touched 100° in the shade, while the dead calm that prevailed made the night almost as oppressive as the day. It was

\* These lines will be found in the Appendix, No. III.

admitted, however, that the summer of this year was unusually sultry, not merely at Albany, but in all parts of the Union. At Poughkeepsie, on the Hudson, it was said to be above  $100^{\circ}$  in the shade, and  $150^{\circ}$  in the sun. In Long Island, near the sea, it was above  $100^{\circ}$  in the shade; and both men and cattle were reported to have died from the extreme heat. At Boston and Salem it was  $100^{\circ}$  and  $102^{\circ}$ . At New York it was  $97^{\circ}$  and  $98^{\circ}$  in the shadiest parts; and a list was published of more than twenty deaths, the names and residences of the sufferers being given, occasioned by drinking too copiously of cold water while overheated, principally though not wholly among labouring men.

In the American newspapers it is common to see the gravest evils treated with ridicule, by the quaint wit of the editors. Thus the journals seemed for some days to compete with each other for the palm of superiority as to the most ingenious points of view, in which this excessive heat of the season could be exhibited. There were accordingly paragraphs beginning with the words "hissing-hot"—"frying-hot"—"boiling-hot," and so on; but the prize seemed to be carried off by a New Orleans editor, who, under the head of "melting-hot," stated that so great was the heat at New Orleans, that "any person choosing to put their heads out of the window, might see whole suits of clothes, in large numbers walking empty through the streets, the original wearers of the garments having been entirely melted away!"

There is one circumstance which greatly increases the effect of the heat, in driving through the American streets, namely, the excessive roughness of the pave-

ment, and the consequent shaking and jolting experienced even in the best-made carriages. It had several times the effect of producing in me double the amount of suffering (uniting the heat of violent motion with the heat of the atmosphere) which would have been felt on a smooth road. I had frequently before thought that there was nothing in which American cities were so inferior to English towns of a similar size, as in their central pavements—the side or foot pavements are quite as good: but I was never so forcibly struck with this as at Albany: where the steepness of the streets ascending from the river to the Capitol-hill, and the excessive rudeness and roughness of the pavements, caused such an incessant and deafening din, in the noise of carriages and carts, as they rattled over the rounded and uneven points of the projecting stones, and shook me with such sudden and violent oscillations from side to side, and backward and forward, in constant motion, as to produce more fatigue and discomfort in a ride of one mile, than would be felt at the same temperature in a ride of ten, through any of the streets of London. The rattling noise, indeed, often reminded me of the quaint conceit of Monk Lewis in his poem of the Fire King, in which, when describing that personage, he says, if I remember the words rightly,

“ His teeth they did clatter, as if you should try,  
To play the piano in thimbles.”

This evil might be easily remedied by the use of wooden pavements in perpendicularly inserted octagonal blocks, such as have been partially, but successfully, tried in New York and Philadelphia: and, considering the cheapness and abundance of



wood in this country, there is little doubt but that before long this mode of pavement will be very generally adopted in all level streets; while a much more smooth pavement of granite, such as is used in the best streets of London, might be adopted for ascending or descending streets, for this material is also abundant in most parts of the country.

Albany is singularly deficient in the number of its benevolent institutions, compared with the other cities of America, or with the extent of its own population, wealth, and resources. The only one of interest or importance is the Orphan Asylum, which I went to visit, with one of the directors, and with which I was much pleased. The building is a large brick edifice on the western edge of the town, advantageously situated for the health and comfort of its inmates. The edifice cost about 20,000 dollars, which was raised by private subscription; a few individuals contributing half of the sum required, in payments of 2,500 dollars or 500% sterling each; and the rest being readily obtained from the inhabitants generally.

The building is enclosed with a spacious and excellent garden of fruits, vegetables, and flowers, which the orphans cultivate themselves: and about five acres of ground afford them pasture for cows, and spacious and airy play-grounds.

Though called an orphan asylum, the directors have found it advisable to take in destitute little children, who had one parent living, but that parent unable to provide for its offspring, as in the case of destitute widows; and sometimes, where both parents

were alive, but where the father being a drunkard, and the mother scarcely able to maintain herself, the little children were really as badly off as if both father and mother had been in the grave. I was assured by the director, Mr. Wood, that in an investigation which he deemed it his duty to make, previously to preparing one of the last annual reports, he had found that in fully nineteen cases out of every twenty, the little children, whether orphans or otherwise, were destitute and helpless, entirely because their fathers, or mothers, or both, had been persons of intemperate habits, and expended what they ought to have bestowed on their children in intoxicating drink.

There are at present about 100 children in the Asylum, from 3 to 10 years of age. At their entry, if there be any persons who have a claim to them by relationship or otherwise, the consent of such person is obtained to the giving up the child wholly to the direction of the Asylum till it shall be 21 years of age. The child is then provided in food, raiment, and lodging, and receives a plain, but religious, education. Their diet is wholly vegetable; and this is found, by some years' experience, to be not only sufficiently nutritious to ensure all the required strength, but superior to animal diet in its being less likely to engender diseases, the average health of the children, notwithstanding the destitute condition in which many of them are taken in, being greater than the average condition of any similar number not so fed. They work in the garden with great cheerfulness, cultivating their own food; and this again, while it is a pleasurable and even instruc-

tive recreation, is found to be highly favourable to their health.

During our visit, which was just before sun-set, the little children were assembled to go through some of their exercises; and a little fellow of about seven years old, being directed to step out of the ranks for the purpose, was requested to commence the examination. He began to question them on Geography, and they really evinced considerable knowledge for their age. They sang, also, prettily, and in good time. At the close of these exercises, another youth, of about the same age, was invited to repeat an address which he had delivered at the last anniversary; and as it is characteristic of the style of thought and sentiment with which all the early lessons of the American youth abound, I transcribe it, from a copy furnished at my request. The young orator, advancing to the front of the floor, said:—

“America, my native country, was unknown to the white man a little more than 300 years ago—but now, what is her history? It is but 217 years since our pilgrim fathers fled from their homes, in the storm of persecution, and found, in this then wilderness world, an asylum, a peaceful retreat. It was for Christian liberty they fled; and it was then that they first sowed in this soil those seeds of freedom which have since so fertilized our happy land. Though England held her sovereign power to rule awhile, her dominion was but short; and we bless the glorious day when our patriot fathers, aroused by noble indignation, broke the chains of tyranny that were too long imposed upon them; and then liberty, sweet liberty, smiled on all these States. But what has our free-

dom cost? The toils, the sufferings, and the death, of many a valiant friend of human rights. Their sacrifices dearly purchased for us the gift which we cannot too highly value. And will *you*, our fathers now, continue to guard her sacred rights till *we*, your sons, shall stand up in your stead, to defend her cause? Yes! I know you will; and though war and tumult rage both north and south of us, (alluding to the insurrection in Canada, and the Indian warfare in Florida), yet on us shall peace and plenty still continue to smile."

After this, a hymn was sung by all the children, standing, to the air of "God save the King," the first stanza of which was as follows :

"My country!—'tis of thee,  
Sweet land of liberty,  
Of thee I sing.  
Land of the pilgrim's pride,  
Land where my fathers died,  
From every mountain-side,  
Let freedom ring."

Such are the sentiments of love of country, veneration for its first founders, and respect for those who, following after, established its independence, that are everywhere implanted in the infant mind of America. The subsequent exercises of their school-books reiterate all this in later youth and early initiation into political doctrines follows soon after, by pupils, almost as soon as they have completed their studies, becoming members of Young Men's Conventions, held from time to time, to declare adherence to certain political principles, and organize plans of action.

The impressions thus become so deep and permanent, that there is no subsequent danger of their obliteration ; for in politics, as in morals and religion, more depends on the first impressions planted in early youth, and the frequent repetition of them from thence to manhood in one unbroken chain, than upon the reasoning powers of individuals ; and thus it is that national faiths, habits, and forms of government, are so continuously preserved from generation to generation.

The annual expense of this Asylum for feeding, clothing, and educating 100 orphans, is about 3,000 dollars or 600*l.* annually ; being about 50 cents, or two shillings sterling, per head, per week ; and the funds for this are readily obtained by subscriptions in the city, as the Asylum is a favourite charity. Every suitable opportunity is taken to place the children out at the proper age in advantageous situations in life ; and hitherto the institution has been a great blessing to the destitute objects of its care, and an honour to its directors and supporters.

The last of the public institutions we saw in Albany was the Museum, which has been spoken of as one of the best in the country. We found it inferior, however, to any we had yet seen, in the limited extent and variety of its collections, as well as in the defective arrangement, and inferior quality of almost everything belonging to it.

## CHAP. XVIII.

Excursion to the Shaker village of Niskyuna—Description of their place of worship—Arrangement for the reception of strangers—Costume of the Shakers, male and female—Silent commencement of their devotions—Address of one of the male elders—First hymn sung by all the worshippers—Address of a second elder to the visitors—Attitude of kneeling, and invitation to the Angels—Defence of the character of the Institution—Speech of one of the female elders—Commencement of the devotional dancing—Gradually increasing fervour of their devotion—Hymns to quick song-tunes, and a gallopade—Extravagant evolutions of the female dancers—Comparison with the whirling Dervishes of Damascus—Fanaticism of Christians, Moham-medans, and Hindoos.

ON Sunday, the 15th of July, we left Albany at nine in the morning, on a visit to the establishment of the religious sect called "The Shakers," at Niskyuna, a distance of eight miles from Albany in a north-west direction. Having a comfortable open carriage, and a good pair of horses, our journey was easy and agreeable. A great part of the road was bordered with a rich variety of wood, and other parts showed extended tracts of cultivation; while the range of the Catskill mountains, to the south, formed an interesting feature in the general picture. The sky was bright—the heat not oppressive—the thermometer at 80° in the town, and 75° in the

country, and the perfume of the shrubs and flowers delightful.

We arrived at the village of Niskyuna, about half-past ten, just as the community were assembling for worship, and saw several lines or files of males and females, walking in pairs, through the fields towards the place of meeting. We entered, with them, the place of worship, which was a plain room of about 50 feet long by 25 feet broad, without pulpit, pews, curtains, or any kind of furniture; plain benches being provided for seating the Shakers themselves, as well as the strangers who came to see them.

Every part of the building, or room, was in the utmost perfection of cleanliness, and not a speck or particle of dust or dirt was anywhere visible.

For the strangers, a number of benches were placed, to accommodate about 200; and there were fully that number of visitors, from the neighbouring country, present. Of these, the males had to enter by one door, and the females by another; and each to remain separate during the service. Of the Shakers who joined in the worship, there were about 100 males, and 100 females. These entered also by different doors, and ranged themselves on benches in oblique lines from each end of the room, till they nearly met each other, when the space between the front row of each sex was triangular, the apex of the triangle being the place from whence the speakers addressed the assembly on the floor. The constantly widening space caused by the diagonal lines of the two front rows, left an opening by which all the strangers, who came as spectators, could see the



persons and countenances of those who joined in the worship clearly and distinctly.

The males included several boys from 7 or 8 years old to 14—and so upwards to young men of 20—middle-aged of 30 and 40—and elders of 50, 60, and 70:—and there was the same diversity of ages among the females. But notwithstanding the difference of age in each, they were all dressed in one uniform fashion.

The dress of the men consisted of a white shirt, collar, and white cravat, loose trousers, and large waistcoat of a deep maroon-coloured stuff, like camlet or bombazin; the trousers were so long as to touch the shoes, but there were neither straps to keep them down, nor braces to suspend them upwards. The waistcoat was of the old-fashioned cut of the court-dress used a century or two ago—single-breasted, with a deep waist cut away diagonally in front, and with long low pockets. The waistcoat was not buttoned, but hung loose, showing the entire front or bosom of the shirt, and no coat or jacket of any kind was worn, so that all the men were literally in their shirt-sleeves.

The dress of the women was entirely white; the gown was long and narrow, and the waist short, the sleeves tight, the bosom plain, and all attempt at gracefulness of form, or decorative ornament, scrupulously avoided. A small clear muslin handkerchief, or cape, was worn over the shoulders; and a cap of clear muslin, fitting closely to the face with long descending lappets, covered the head: while the hair was put up in the plainest manner, and almost entirely

concealed from view. On the left arm each female had a white napkin, neatly folded, and hanging over the arm; and the whole appearance of the congregation, notwithstanding its singularity, was impressive, from the purity and simplicity of their costume.

The physiognomy of the men was more indicative of the enthusiastic temperament than that of the women; and they were also characterized by better animal condition as to health and strength, with less appearance of intellect. Among the women there were a few, especially among the younger portion, that were handsome; but the greater number were very plain, and the whole were even more pallid than American women generally, with an appearance of langour, that betokened a morbid state of feeling, and very imperfect health.

The first half hour of the worship was passed in a profound silence; the men, as they entered, stepping as lightly as possible across the floor, to hang up their broad-brimmed straw hats on the wall: and the women, as they entered, disposing of their plain straw bonnets, all of the same pattern, in a similar manner, and then taking their seats; the eldest of each sex occupying the front rows, opposite to each other, and the younger filling up the benches behind them, and some sitting on the ground.

At the end of this half hour, one of the male elders rose, which was the signal for forming in ranks; when the benches were removed by the parties who sat on them, and ranged close to the wall, so as to leave the central part of the room clear. The lines were then formed, the men standing in rows, at one end of the room, and the women at the other,

the front ranks of each nearly meeting in the centre.

One of the elders then addressed the worshippers as dear Brethren and Sisters, and spoke for about five minutes. The substance of his remarks was that they ought all to rejoice at having the privilege to meet and worship God in their own way without interruption, and at the still greater privilege of being among the number of those who were especially called by God to come out from the world, and to put aside ungodliness and all worldly lusts. They were engaged in the work of God, and not in that of the world, and their happiness consisted in knowing and doing his will.

The first speaker was followed by a second, who expressed nearly the same sentiments in other words; and after a pause of a few minutes, the whole body sang together a short hymn, of which I could only catch the first verse, which was thus:—

“O! the precious work of God—

It is pure!—it is pure!

I will rejoice, and lift my voice,

To serve the Lord for evermore.”

The singing was loud and harsh, without the least attempt at harmony, and the air was rude and wild. Not more than half the number of the congregation joined in this exercise, though there was no particular body as a choir to whom it was restricted; but every one seemed to pay the most devout attention.

Another elder then stepped into the front, and addressed the strangers present. He said that it was very much the custom for strangers to come and

visit them on the sabbath, though they rarely came on any other day; and as there were undoubtedly some peculiarities in their worship, it was more than probable that curiosity was the leading motive that brought us there. To this they offered no impediment; for as they were not ashamed either of their opinions or practices, but rather rejoiced in them, they did not close their doors against any persons, but willingly admitted and accommodated as far as their space and means would allow, all who chose to remain, provided they were silent and respectful; and when they found they could not be both, it was desirable they should withdraw.

He said, the world regarded them as madmen and fools, but so did the world esteem the early Christians. They knew, however, that they were sober and sincere; and the only difference between themselves and the world was, that the people of the world continued still to see things as through a glass, darkly, while God had called them out of the world to see things with all the fullness of the brightest day; and that when our eyes were opened (for a day would come in which each would receive a call, and by his acceptance or rejection of that call his future destiny would be settled), we should look back upon the things of the world just as they themselves now did, as being nothing but a heap of vanities and emptiness.

Another pause ensued; and then the whole assembly fell on their knees, and elevating their hands and arms, and making signs of beckoning or invitation, they sang in concert this verse:—

"Come, Ho'y Angels, quickly come,  
And bring your purifying fire ;  
Consume our lusts, in every home,  
And root out every foul desire."

Some of the spectators looked at the female portion of the worshippers while they were singing this, and then at each other significantly ; but upon the countenances of the singers themselves, whether male or female, not a trace could be seen of any other sentiment or feeling than that of the deepest gravity and devotion. At every close of this verse, which they repeated several times, they bowed their heads to the ground, those of the two front ranks of males and females almost touching each other ; and at the termination of the whole, they remained on their knees for a few minutes, looking stedfastly on the ground, and buried in the most profound silence.

When they rose, another elder came forward, and a second time addressed the strangers ; whether he was induced to do so from the significant looks interchanged among the spectators while the last verse was singing, I could not positively say : but it seemed to me probable, because he opened his speech by observing, that many persons who came to see them, went away and calumniated them. Among other things, he said, it had been alleged that they did not live the life of purity which they pretended, but that their practices were contrary to their professions. This he declared to be untrue, and called heaven to witness the accuracy of his assertion. He said they laboured honestly with their own hands to maintain themselves independently ; and that between labour

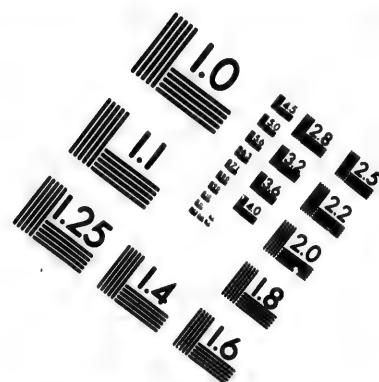
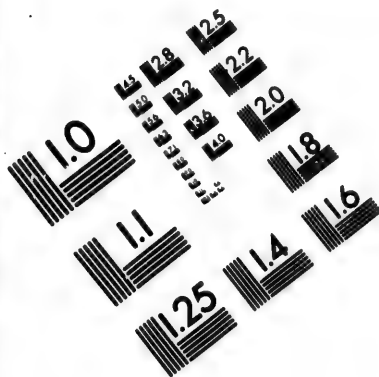
for subsistence and the worship of God, their time was wholly occupied, while they avoided and resisted all temptation, and kept themselves pure from all carnal defilement.

When he had ceased, one of the elders among the females, who appeared to be about sixty years of age, broke silence; and, addressing the assembly, said, she had been forty years a member of the community, but had never felt her duty to speak till the present moment. Now, however, she felt it her duty to unloose her tongue, and declare that these aspersions upon their purity were altogether unwarranted; that their brethren gave them only protection, for which they felt duly grateful; but that they neither sought for, nor asked, nor desired any thing from them in return; that the female part of the body on whose behalf she could speak, regarded themselves as chosen vessels set apart for the use and service of God alone; and they neither had, nor wished to have, any communication with men. This defence of the purity of the order was received by the females with the loudest and most enthusiastic acclamations and clapping of hands.

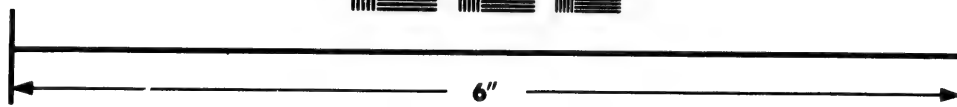
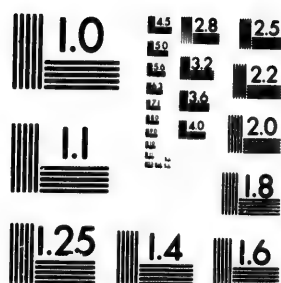
The assembly then formed itself into another order for the dancing, which is called by them "labour," and from the zeal and animation with which all their movements are performed, it may well deserve that name. The males were first arranged in pairs, following each other like troops in a line of march; and when their number was completed, the females followed after, two and two, in the same manner. In this way they formed a complete circle round the open space of the room. In the centre of the whole







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was a small band of about half a dozen males and half a dozen females, who were there stationed to sing the tunes and mark the time; and these began to sing with a loud voice, and in quick time, like the Allegro of a Sonata, or the Vivace of a Canzonet, the following verse:—

“Perpetual blessings do demand,  
Perpetual praise on every hand;  
Then leap for joy, with dance and song,  
To praise the Lord for ever.”

The motion of the double line of worshippers, as they filed off before us, was something between a march and a dance. Their bodies were inclined forward like those of persons in the act of running; they kept the most perfect time with their feet, and beat the air with their hands, to the same measure. Some of the more robust and enthusiastic literally “leaped” so high, as to shake the room by the weight with which they fell to their feet on the floor; and others, though taking the matter more moderately, bore evident signs of the effects of the exercise and heat united on their persons. This first dance lasted about five minutes, and during the pause which succeeded, another short speech was made by one of the male elders, repeating the duty of congratulating themselves on the privileges they enjoyed.

The first dance was performed to the air of “Scots wha’ ha’e wi’ Wallace bled,” but sung with great rapidity, such as is sometimes done, when it is converted into a quick march by a military band. The second dance was of still quicker measure; and to the much less respectable old English tune of “Nancy Dawson,” which I had not heard for thirty years

at least, though it was a popular song in my boyhood, among sailors especially; and the last place on earth in which I should have expected to hear it revived, would have been among the Shakers in America. Yet so it was: and to this lively and merry tune, the whole body, now formed into three abreast, instead of two, literally scampered round the room in a quick gallopade, every individual of both the choir and the dancers, singing with all their might these words:

“ Press on, press on, ye chosen band,  
The angels go before ye;  
We’re marching through Emanuel’s land,  
Where saints shall sing in glory.”

This exercise was continued for at least double the time of the former; and by it the worshippers were wrought up to such a pitch of fervour, that they were evidently on the point of some violent outbreak or paroxysm. Accordingly the whole assembly soon got into the “most admired disorder,” each dancing to his own tune, and his own measure, and the females became perfectly ungovernable. About half a dozen of these whirled themselves round, in what opera-dancers call a *pirouette*, performing at least fifty revolutions each—their arms extended horizontally, their clothes being blown out like an air-balloon all round their persons—their heads sometimes falling on one side, and sometimes hanging forward on the bosom—till they would at length faint away in hysterical convulsions, and be caught in the arms of the surrounding dancers.

This, too, like the singing and dancing which preceded it, was accompanied by clapping of hands,

to mark the time, while the same verse was constantly repeated, and, at every repetition, with increased rapidity. Altogether the scene was one of the most extraordinary I had ever witnessed, and except among the howling dervishes of Bagdad, and the whirling dervishes of Damascus, I remember nothing in the remotest degree resembling it. It was well that the assembly was speedily after this dispersed ; because I think another half hour would have carried the fervour so high, that it might have ended in scenes which would have astonished and disgusted the spectators, and not have been very honourable to the performers.

During the whole period of this worship, which lasted about two hours, I was endeavouring to settle in my mind the debatable question, of whether the people, whom I saw before me, were practising a delusion on themselves, or endeavouring to impose upon and deceive others. I had had the same difficulty before in witnessing the follies of the Christian devotees at Jerusalem and throughout the Holy Land, where the various sects of Eastern Christians endeavour to outvie each other in the extravagancies of their penances and ceremonies. I had felt similar doubts when seeing the fantastic conduct of Mohammedan fakirs and dervishes in Egypt and Arabia, and Hindoo devotees in Bengal and Bombay. The conclusion to which I came in all these cases was the same : namely, that there was much more of sincerity in their belief and conduct, than the world generally supposed ; and that instead of attempting to dupe others, they were merely deluding themselves. The exceptions to this rule are so rare, as to form an

inconsiderable fraction of the whole number ; and, strange as such infatuation may appear, there has never yet been an age or country free from it, in some shape or other, as the history of the world abundantly testifies.

When the assembly had broken up, I sought and obtained an interview with one of the male elders, who readily answered all the inquiries I made of him ; and on my expressing a desire to procure any authentic publications which might be in existence, relative to the history and peculiar views of their community, he referred me to the "Office" of the village, where I went for that purpose. We were received here by one of the female Shakers, a well-grown and pretty young woman, of about twenty, with some colour yet remaining in her cheek, dark and expressive eyes, and a very cheerful and smiling countenance. Her conversation was intelligent, free from any appearance of restraint, and her manner most easy and natural. She readily answered our inquiries, and furnished me with four different works, published under the sanction of the community, and, therefore, to be relied on for their accuracy, as regarded the history, doctrines, and practices of the sect. I expressed a wish, however, to obtain, in addition to these, a copy of the hymns sung by them during their worship ; but she said, no copies of these had been published for the world. I requested her to ask of the elders, whether one used by themselves could be lent me for a few days, when it should be returned ; but her application was unsuccessful, as the elders had objections to their being seen or circulated beyond the limits of their own community.

We returned to Albany early in the afternoon ; and from the conversation I had enjoyed with the elder and the librarian, and from the publications furnished me by the latter, I was enabled to compile and digest the following authentic account of the origin, progress, and actual condition of this singular community, as well as their peculiar views of religion and government, and the scriptural authorities on which they profess to found their doctrines and practices.



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## CHAP. XIX.

Origin of the sect of Shakers in Germany and France—Transplanting of the sect to England in 1706—Biography of Ann Lee, the founder, in America—First settlement at Niskyuna—Death of Ann Lee—Progress and present state of the society of Shakers—Recent spread of the society in the Western States.

In the year 1689 some remarkable "revivals of religion," as they are called, took place in Germany and France, but particularly at Dauphiny and Vivrais, in the latter country. The persons subject to these revivals are said to have been agitated in body as well as in mind, by what they were pleased to call divine inspiration. They predicted the near approach of the end of the world, and the second coming of the Messiah, to commence his millennial reign upon the earth. The following is the account which is given of the progress of this body of religionists, in the work entitled "A Summary View of the Millennial Church, or United Society of Believers, commonly called Shakers; comprising the rise, progress, and practical order of the Society, together with the general principles of their Faith and Testimony, published by order of the Ministry in union with the Church."

The introduction to this work is signed by Calvin Green and Seth Wells, two of the leading elders of the sect. It is dated at New Lebanon, May 12,

1823, and has for its motto this verse from the prophet Daniel—"In the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed." There were four other works, some of earlier, and some of later date—the earliest 1810, the latest 1838; and from these, collectively, the account is revised, retaining, in most cases, the expressions, and, in all, the substance of the statements made by the writers themselves, who are of course to be considered as alone responsible for those expressions which imply a belief in the divine inspiration communicated to, or miracles alleged to be performed by, the several personages spoken of in the narrative. After the short history given of the religious revivals in Germany and France, before adverted to, the history is continued thus:—

"About the year 1706, a few of them went over to England, where they renewed their testimony; and through the ministration of the same Spirit to others, many were united to them; so that in a short time they became very numerous, and their testimony became extensive and powerful.

"In 1747, a small number who were endowed with the spirit of these witnesses, were led by the influence of the divine Spirit to unite themselves into a small society, in the neighbourhood of Manchester, under the ministry of James and Jane Wardley. These were both sincerely devoted to the cause of God, and were blessed with great manifestations of divine light.

"This infant society practised no forms, and adopted no creeds as rules of faith or worship; but gave themselves up to be led and guided entirely by the operations of the Spirit of God. Their meetings were powerful and animated, attended with remarkable signs and operations, and with the spirit of prophecy and divine revelation.

"Sometimes, after sitting awhile in silent meditation, they were seized with a mighty trembling, under which they would often

express the indignation of God against all sin. At other times they were exercised with singing, shouting, and leaping for joy at the near prospect of salvation. They were often exercised with great agitations of body and limbs, running and walking the floor with a variety of signs and operations, and swiftly passing and repassing each other, like clouds agitated with a mighty wind. No human power could imitate the wonderful operations with which they were affected while under the influence of these spiritual signs. From these exercises, so strange in the eyes of mankind, they received the appellation of *Shakers*, which has been the most common name of distinction ever since.

"They continued to increase in light and power, with occasional additions to their number, till about the year 1770, when by a special manifestation of divine light, the present testimony of salvation and eternal life was fully revealed to *Ann Lee*, and by her to the society. As this extraordinary woman, concerning whom so much has been reported and published abroad in the world, was the distinguished personage to whom Christ revealed himself in his true character, in this day of his second appearing, it will be necessary, in proceeding with this work, to give some account of her life, character, and ministry.

"Ann Lee was the daughter of John Lee, of Manchester, in England. She was born in the year 1736. Her father was by occupation a blacksmith, and, though poor, he was respectable in character, moral in principle, honest and punctual in his dealings, and industrious in business. Her mother was esteemed as a religious and very pious woman.

"As she considered that the people called Shakers were favoured with a greater degree of divine light, and a more clear and pointed testimony against the nature of sin, than had hitherto been made manifest, Ann readily embraced their testimony, and united herself to the society in the month of September 1758, being then in the twenty-third year of her age."

She had no sooner joined herself to the society, than calumniators began to appear, imputing to her every bad motive, and charging her with the commission of every crime; and the enemies of the sect

have not scrupled to repeat these calumnies ever since. But the writer of her history repudiates these imputations as utterly groundless, and cites parallel cases of false accusations against the saints in all ages, in which he says :—

“ It is well known that the primitive Christians were greatly slandered and stigmatized by their heathen neighbours, and every false report that scandal could bestow or malice dictate, was put in circulation, and urged upon the public as positive facts, that could easily be proved by eye and ear witnesses in abundance.

“ Celsus the Epicurean, upon what he called good authority, charged Jesus Christ with being the offspring of adultery ; and asserted, ‘ That the mother of Jesus being great with child, was put away by the carpenter who had espoused her, he having convicted her of adultery with a soldier named Pantheras.’ Celsus further adds, that ‘ having been turned out of doors by her husband, she wandered about in a shameful manner, till she brought forth Jesus in an obscure place.’” Such are the charges of this ancient heathen calumniator against the Virgin Mary. And influenced by the same malignant spirit, some modern Celsuses, upon what they call good authority, have charged Ann Lee with lewdness and intoxication. But those who best knew the Virgin Mary, knew that the story of that ancient calumniator was false ; and those who best knew Ann Lee, know that the stories of these modern calumniators are false.

“ The charge of drunkenness alleged against Ann Lee and her companions, had no more foundation in truth, than the same charges alleged against the apostles and primitive Christians at the day of Pentecost. The truth is, they were under the operation of the same Spirit ; and it was attended with the same effects on those who received it, and excited the same opposition in their enemies, and gave rise to the same false accusations.

“ While in deep exercise of mind concerning these things, she was brought into a state of excessive tribulation of soul, in which she felt her way hedged up, seemingly, on every side, and was con-

\* See Lardner's Works, vol. viii. p. 19.

strained to cry mightily to God, to open some way of deliverance. In the midst of her sufferings and earnest cries to God, her soul was filled with divine light, and the mysteries of the spiritual world were brought clearly to her understanding. She saw the Lord Jesus Christ in his glory, who revealed to her the great object of her prayers, and fully satisfied all the desires of her soul. The most astonishing visions and divine manifestations were presented to her view in so clear and striking a manner, that the whole spiritual world seemed displayed before her. In these extraordinary manifestations, she had a full and clear view of the mystery of iniquity, of the root and foundation of human depravity, and of the very act of transgression, committed by the first man and woman, in the garden of Eden. Here she saw whence and wherein all mankind were lost from God, and clearly realized the only possible way of recovery.

"After Ann was received and acknowledged as the spiritual Mother and leader of the society, the manner of worship and the exercises in their public assemblies were, singing and dancing, shaking and shouting, speaking with new tongues and prophesying, with all those various gifts of the Holy Ghost known in the primitive church. These gifts progressively increased until the establishment of the church in America; by which, those who were in the spirit of the work, were convinced, beyond all doubt or controversy, that it was the beginning of Christ's reign upon earth.

"A special revelation was then announced to Mother Ann, by which she was commanded to repair to America, with her faithful band of followers, accompanied with a prophecy that the true Millennium Church would ultimately be established in that country. This revelation was communicated to the society, and was soon confirmed by signs, visions, and extraordinary manifestations, to many individual members; and permission was given for all those of the society to accompany her, who were able, and who felt any special impressions on their own minds so to do. Accordingly those who became the companions of Mother Ann, in her voyage to America, embarked at Liverpool, on board the ship *Mariah*, Captain Smith, of New York, and sailed on the 19th of May, 1774.

"When Mother Ann landed at New York, she counselled those who came with her, for a season, to seek their livelihood where they

could find employ, as they were mostly poor, and had nothing to subsist upon but what they obtained by honest industry. Accordingly, they were all scattered in different parts of the country until the spring of the year 1776. She then went by water up to Albany, and from thence to Niskyuna, (now Water-Vliet,) and about the month of September fixed her residence where the church is now established, eight miles north-west from the centre of the city of Albany."

Such is the history condensed from the publications of the Shakers themselves, and given in the language of their own writers, of the first founder of their community in America. Large portions of this history have been passed over unnoticed, as consisting of disputes with the public authorities, persecutions, and miraculous deliverances, gifts of prophecy, gifts of tongues, and power of performing miraculous cures; for though these are referred to triumphantly by the society, as proofs of their divine origin, they may be paralleled by similar proofs in the early history of all the different systems of religion that exist in the world, as well as their subsequent ramifications; and all supported by testimonies sufficient to satisfy those who belong to the particular faith they are intended to confirm, but unfortunately having no such effect on any others.

In justice, however, to the believers in those miracles, it is proper to give their own account of the last vision that was seen by their leader, and to add the note upon the passage, as the answer to the objections urged against their truth. The narrator of the last moments of Ann Lee thus expresses himself.

"Though her bodily sufferings were great, yet she appeared calm, peaceable and comfortable in spirit, and her usual patience and fortitude appeared



conspicuous to the end. She continually grew weaker in body until the 8th of September, between twelve and one o'clock in the morning, when she breathed her last, without a struggle or a groan. Before her departure, she repeatedly told those about her that she was going home. Just before she expired, she said, "I see brother William coming in a glorious chariot to take me home." Elder John Hocknell, who was greatly gifted in visions, testified that when the breath left her body, he saw in vision a golden chariot, drawn by four white horses, which received and wafted her soul out of his sight.\*

"Thus (concludes this writer) departed from this mortal stage, that extraordinary female, who was

\* The following is the biographer's note on this passage:—"The visions, prophecies, and revelations mentioned in this work, will perhaps be rejected by an unbelieving world, as the effects of enthusiasm, superstition, and fanaticism. But though there may be many, even among the professors of Christianity, who, generally speaking, have no faith in such manifestations, beyond the comprehension of their natural senses and daily experience; yet this cannot alter the truth, nor disannul facts. Therefore, let the sneering unbeliever reflect that the same charge will equally apply to the prophets and saints of all preceding dispensations, who abounded in those gifts. Elijah went up in a fiery chariot, and a cloud received Jesus out of sight. The prophets saw many wonderful visions, and received many revelations, and by divine inspiration delivered many remarkable prophecies of future events; and who has ever assured man that those who walk in the spirit of Christ, and enjoy communion with the heavenly world, shall not be able to see heavenly visions, and discern spiritual things, and be blessed with spiritual understanding, in this day, as well as under former dispensations? It is the darkness of a fallen nature which obscures the light of the soul, and the veil of the flesh which shuts celestial scenes from the view of man; but the Spirit of God is 'the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.'"



chosen of God to commence, in this latter day, the regeneration of a lost world ; in whom Christ, in very deed, appeared the second time without sin unto salvation ; whose life of righteousness excited against her the enmity of the wicked, and against whose character the envenomed tongue of slander has never ceased to pour forth its calumnies even to this day. In her the sufferings of Christ appeared conspicuous ; in her the righteousness of Christ was clearly manifested to all her faithful followers. In her Christ was revealed the Lord from heaven, a quickening spirit ; in her was renewed his example of perfect obedience to the will of his heavenly Father ; in her was revived the way of life and salvation by the cross, and she plainly taught the impossibility of obtaining it in any other way. In her was first wrought the complete redemption of the female ; and through her ministration, a way was opened for the restoration of the female character to its proper lot and dignity, from which it had been degraded by the transgression of the first woman."

Such are the convictions of the whole body of the Shakers respecting the character and mission of their founder : and Joanna Southcott herself, in the days of her greatest popularity, was not more devoutly revered in England, or does not continue to receive greater homage from her followers there at present (who are as numerous, perhaps, as the disciples of Ann Lee) than is paid everywhere by the community of Shakers in America to Mother Ann, as she is always called, and whom they believe to be the last of the prophets, and second revelation of a Saviour to a lost world !

The progress and present state of the Society in America, they deem encouraging, considering the comparatively short time that has yet elapsed since its origin, and comparing it with the slow progress made for many years by the gospel itself when first preached to the Gentiles. The following is the summary of their statistics on this head.

In the beginning of the year 1780, the Society consisted of but about 10 or 12 persons, all of whom came from England. From this time there was a gradual and extensive increase in their numbers, until the year 1787, when they began to collect at New Lebanon. Here the church was established, as a common centre of union for all who belonged to the Society in various parts of the country. This still remains as the mother-church, being the first that was established; all the Societies in various parts of the country, are considered branches of this; and there are now 20 separate communities, numbering about 4000 members.

All these communities were formed previous to the year 1805. In that year a very remarkable excitement or agitation of the public mind on the subject of religion took place in Kentucky, and is known by the name of the "Kentucky Revival." The enthusiasm of the people seemed to be at its height, and the excitement was occasioned by the preaching of some Presbyterian missionaries who had been sent into the Western States from New England. The Shakers hearing of this, and remembering a prophecy of Mother Ann that the Western country would soon be opened to them, they sent forth, on the first of January 1805, three chosen messengers to that dis-

tant region. They continued there for some time, enduring great opposition from all quarters, until the resistance to their further progress seemed to have reached its height in 1810, when the following scene occurred, according to their own account.

"On the 27th of August, 1810, a body of five hundred armed men, led on by officers in military array, appeared before the principal dwelling of the Society, in Union Village. This formidable force was preceded and followed by a large concourse of spectators, of all descriptions of people, estimated at nearly 2,000 in number, whose object was to witness the mighty conflict, expected to take place, between a body of 500 armed men, and a few harmless and *defenceless Shakers*. Among this great concourse, were many who were friendly to the Society, and whose only wish was to prevent mischief and preserve peace; but the far greater majority were either entire strangers or decided enemies, who came to support the military in case of necessity. Many of these were armed in mob array, some with guns and swords, some with bayonets fixed on poles or sticks of various lengths, and others with staves, hatchets, knives, and clubs. These formed a motley multitude of every description, from ragged boys to hoary-headed men, exhibiting altogether a hideous and grotesque appearance.

"But notwithstanding all these threatening and warlike appearances, no confusion appeared among the believers throughout the day; but they remained calm, peaceable, and undismayed, and attended to their usual occupations with as much regularity as the confused circumstances of the day would permit.

"This motley multitude having collected, and the troops having taken their station near the meeting-house, a deputation of twelve men came forward, headed by a Presbyterian preacher; and after making a number of unreasonable and inconsistent demands, (demands with which the leaders of the Society had neither power nor authority to comply), they proceeded to state, as the principal requisition of this extraordinary concourse of armed men, that the Society should relinquish their principles and practice, their public testimony, mode of worship, and manner of living, or quit the coun-

try. These extraordinary demands were accompanied with threats of violence in case of refusal.

"The answer of the Society was calm and mild, but plain and positive: That they esteemed their faith in the gospel dearer than their lives, and were therefore determined to maintain it, whatever they might suffer as the consequence; and as to quitting the country, they were upon their own possessions, which they had purchased with their own money, and for which they were indebted to no man; that they held no man's property, and therefore had a just right to the peaceable enjoyment of their own possessions, in a free country, and were entitled to those liberties granted by the laws of their country, including the liberty of conscience."

The result of this mildness and firmness combined was exactly what it has always been in every instance in which it has been tried, among the Quakers especially, whose history is so full of instances in which the most violently hostile enemies have been disarmed and defeated by a pacific course: so true is the saying of Solomon, "A soft answer turneth away wrath." The consequences, too, of this religious persecution were like those of almost every other, with proofs of which the early annals of this country abound, namely, to strengthen the very cause it was intended to crush, and increase the number of those whom it was designed to annihilate, as will be seen by the following additions made to the communities of the Shakers in the Western States, subsequent to 1810.

In Ohio there are two societies, one at Union Village, in the county of Warren, 30 miles north-east from Cincinnati, which contains nearly 600 members; and one at Beaver Creek, in the county of Montgomery, six miles south-east from Dayton, which contains 100 members. In Kentucky there are also two societies, one at Pleasant Hill, in Mer-

cer county, 21 miles south-west of Lexington, containing nearly 500 members; the other at South Union, Jasper Springs, in Logan county, 15 miles north-east from Russellville, which contains nearly 400 members. In Indiana, there is one Society, at West Union, Knox county, 16 miles above Vincennes, which contains more than 200 members.

The following is the summing up or conclusion of the writer, in the chapter from which the preceding abridged account of the progress and present state of the Society is derived, with his notes upon the text.

“The number of believers contained in all the Societies, both in the Eastern and Western States, exceeds 4,000. Two-thirds, at least, of this number have been added since the commencement of the present century; and the number is gradually increasing.\*

“Most of the Societies contain a number of large families; and each family is accommodated with one or more large and convenient dwelling-houses, and with shops and out-houses, for the convenience of carrying on the various branches of business pursued by the

\*“We are far from feeling a disposition to proclaim our numbers to the world; but the inquiries which are continually made by strangers, to ascertain our numbers, and the local situation of the different Societies in our communion, have induced us to give a statement of these particulars. We are as yet but a small people, and few in number, compared with the vast multitudes enrolled in the catalogues of other denominations; but when we consider the testimony of Jesus Christ, that ‘strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it,’ we cannot but feel a sense of thankfulness for that mercy of God, which has called us to be numbered with the chosen few; and to us it is a matter of more importance to increase in the principles of peace and righteousness, than to increase in numbers. Yet we feel a firm reliance upon the promises of God, by the mouth of his prophets: ‘I will multiply them, and they shall not be few; I will also glorify them, and they shall not be small.—A little one shall become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation: I the Lord will hasten it in his time.’ See Isa. lx. 22, and Jer. xxx. 19.”—Note of the original volume.

family. There is also, in each Society, a house for public worship, and an office or offices for the transaction of public business.

"The principal employments of the people are agriculture, horticulture, and the various branches of domestic manufacture; of course, the principal articles of consumption among them are mostly of their own produce and manufacture; and their various mechanical branches furnish a variety of articles for market.

"Temperance and chastity, plainness and simplicity, neatness, industry and good economy, are among those virtuous principles which actuate the people of the United Society in all their temporal concerns, and which tend greatly to promote the health and prosperity of the Society, and insure the blessings of Divine Providence upon all their labours. And it is found by many years' experience, that this manner of life is more conducive to the general health of the body, than any other with which we are acquainted; and this experience has also proved, that fewer deaths have occurred in the Society since its establishment, in proportion to the number of people, than is usual among those who live after the common course of the world."\*

\* The ancients reckoned a generation to last 30 years, and the moderns have generally agreed that the life of man has not increased. From the commencement of the United Society, in the year 1780, up to 1800, the average ages of those who deceased at New Lebanon and Watervliet exceeded 50 years. Since that period to the present time, the average ages of all that have deceased in these two Societies, amount to about 60 years. Though there was, in the beginning, at least an ordinary proportion of young children; and though many children have since been gathered into the Society; yet only 5 have deceased under 10 years, and but 27 under 21 years of age.

## CHAP. XX.

Leading peculiarities of the sect of Shakers—Community of property in all the families—Celibacy of the entire body, in both sexes—Non-existence of any priesthood—Use of the dance in religious worship—Rules for the admission of new members—Order and arrangement of the society's affairs—Scriptural authorities for community of property.

THE four leading peculiarities of the Shakers are : first, community of property ; secondly, the celibacy of the entire body, in both sexes ; thirdly, the non-existence of any priesthood ; and, fourthly, the use of the dance in their religious worship. All these they defend on scriptural authority ; and quote very largely from the writings of the Old and the New Testament in confirmation of their views. Before entering on these, however, it may be well to give a brief view of the rules and principles by which they regulate the admission of members to their body ; and those by which they are subsequently governed. The following are their rules for the admission of members.

“1. All persons who unite with the Society must do it voluntarily, and of their own free will.

“2. No one is permitted to do so, without a full and clear understanding of all its obligations.

“3. No considerations of property are ever made use of to induce persons to join or to leave the Society ; because it is a principle of the sect, that no act of devotion or service that does not flow from the free and voluntary emotions of the heart, can be acceptable to God as an act of true religion.



"No believing husband or wife is allowed, by the principles of this Society, to separate from an unbelieving partner, except by mutual agreement; unless the conduct of the unbeliever be such as to warrant a separation by the laws of God and man. Nor can any husband or wife, who has otherwise abandoned his or her partner, be received into communion with the Society.

"5. Any person becoming a member, must rectify all his wrongs, and, as fast and as far as it is in his power, discharge all just and legal claims, whether of creditors or filial heirs. Nor can any person, not conforming to this rule, long remain in union with the Society. But the Society is not responsible for the debts of any individual, except by agreement; because such responsibility would involve a principle ruinous to the institution.

"6. No difference is to be made in the distribution of parental estate among the heirs, whether they belong to the Society or not; but an equal partition must be made, as far as may be practicable, and consistent with reason and justice.

"7. If an unbelieving wife separate from a believing husband, by agreement, the husband must give her a just and reasonable share of the property; and if they have children who have arrived at years of understanding sufficient to judge for themselves, and who choose to go with their mother, they are not to be disinherited on that account. Though the character of this institution has been much censured on this ground, yet we boldly assert, that the rule above stated has never, to our knowledge, been violated by this Society.

"8. Industry, temperance, and frugality are prominent features of this institution. No member who is able to labour can be permitted to live idly upon the labours of others. All are required to be employed in some manual occupation, according to their several abilities, when not engaged in other necessary duties."

Of the system of government exercised by the Society over those who are admitted, the following is a brief description:—

"As all persons enter voluntarily, so they may voluntarily withdraw; but while they remain members, they are required to obey the regulations of the Society.

"The leading authority of the Society is vested in a ministry, generally consisting of four persons, including both sexes. These, together with the elders and trustees, constitute the general government of the Society in all its branches.

"No creed can be framed to limit the progress of improvement. It is the faith of the Society, that the operations of divine light are unlimited. All are at liberty to improve their talents, and exercise their gifts, the younger being subject to the elder.

"In the order and government of the Society, no corporal punishment is approved; nor any external force or violence exercised on any rational person who has come to years of understanding. Faith, conscience, and reason are deemed sufficient to influence a rational being; but where these are wanting, the necessary and proper means of restraint are not prohibited.

"The management of temporal affairs in families holding a united interest, as far as respects the consecrated property of the Society, is committed to trustees. These are appointed by the ministry and elders; and are legally invested with the fee of the real estate belonging to the Society. But all the transactions of the trustees must be for the united benefit of the Society, and not for any personal or private use or purpose whatever. And in all these things they are strictly responsible to the leading authority of the Society, for the faithful performance of their duty."

The following is given as the order and arrangement of the Society, when fully organized, according to the same authority.

The community is divided into several different branches, commonly called families. This division is generally made for the sake of convenience, and is often rendered necessary on account of local situation and other circumstances; but the proper division and arrangement of the community, without respect to local situation, is into three classes, or progressive degrees of order, as follows:

The first, or novitiate class, are those who receive faith, and come into a degree of relation with the

Society, but choose to live in their own families, and manage their own temporal concerns. Any who prefer it, may live in this manner, and be owned as brethren and sisters in the gospel, so long as they live up to its requirements. Parents are required to be kind and dutiful to each other, to shun every appearance of evil, provide for their family, bring up their children in a godly manner, use, improve, and dispose of their property wisely, and manage their affairs according to their own discretion.

The second, or junior class, is composed of persons who, not having the charge of families, and being under no embarrassments to hinder them from uniting together in community, choose to enjoy the benefits of that situation. These (for mutual safety) enter into a contract to devote their services, freely, to support the interest of the family of which they are members, so long as they continue in that order; stipulating, at the same time, to claim no pecuniary compensation for their services. The property itself may be resumed at any time, according to the contract; but no interest can be claimed for the use of it. Members of this class may retain the ownership of all their property, as long as they think proper; but at any time, after having gained sufficient experience to be able to act deliberately, they may devote a part, or the whole, to the support of the Institution. This, however, is a matter of free choice; no one is urged to do so, they are rather advised, in such cases, to consider the matter well, so as not to do it until they have a full understanding of its consequences; lest they should do it prematurely, and afterwards repent.

The third, or senior class, is composed of such persons as have had sufficient time and opportunity practically to approve the faith and manner of life practised in the Society, and are thus prepared to enter voluntarily into a united interest. These agree to dedicate themselves, body and mind, with all that they possess, to the service of God and the support of the gospel for ever. No person can be received into this order until he shall have settled all just and legal claims, both of creditors and filial heirs; so that whatever property he may possess, may be justly and truly his own. Minors cannot be admitted as members of this order; yet they may be received under its immediate care and protection. And when they have arrived at lawful age, if they choose to continue in the Society, and sign the covenant of the order, they are then admitted to all the privileges of members. The members of this order are all equally entitled to its benefits and privileges, without any difference on account of what any one may have contributed to the interest of the Society. All are equally entitled to their support and maintenance, whether in health, sickness, or old age, so long as they continue to maintain the principles, and conform to the rules and regulations, of the Institution. They give their property and services for the most valuable of all temporal considerations—an ample security, during life, for every needful support, if they continue faithful to their contract and covenant, the nature of which they clearly understand before they enter into it.

On these principles the Society has now been governed for more than half a century, with a con-

stant increase of members, increase of property, and no diminution of zeal, or decline of purity in morals. The experiment, therefore, has lasted long enough, as they believe, to be considered free from all chances of failure; and although it has been repeatedly alleged that disputes have sprung up between them and seceding members, as to claims to property, their answer to these imputations is given in the following paragraph.

"During a period of more than fifty years since the permanent establishment of this Society at New-Lebanon and Watervliet, there never has been a legal claim entered, by any person, for the recovery of property brought into the Society; but all claims of that nature, if any have existed, have been amicably settled to the satisfaction of the parties concerned. Complaints and legal prosecutions have not, hitherto, come from persons who brought property into the Institution; but from those who came destitute of property, and who, generally speaking, have been no benefit to the Society in any way, but, on the contrary, after having enjoyed its hospitality, and brought no small share of trouble upon the people, have had the assurance to lay claim to wages which they never earned, or property to which they never had any just or legal claim."

The institution is, therefore, nearly as old as the American Union, having been planted only four years after the Declaration of Independence; and as far as length of past duration can be received as a pledge of future stability, they think that they stand on as high ground as the republic, with the advantage of adding a divine origin, to self-preserving or conservative principles, which run through every part of their doctrine, discipline, and government.

For the practice of throwing all their property, whether much or little, into one common stock, and improving it for the benefit of the whole community,

they cite the authority of Christ and his disciples, as well as the early Christians mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, iv. 32. They say :—

“It is doubtless generally understood, that Jesus Christ, and his little family of disciples, all fared alike, being chiefly dependent on the contents of the same scrip, for their temporal support. The primitive church at Jerusalem was also founded on a united interest. ‘And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and one soul: neither said any of them, that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common.’

“Thus they divested themselves of all selfishness, and, like a band of disinterested brethren and sisters, lived in love and harmony, and all fared alike. These amiable examples were designed as a pattern for Christians; and had all who have since professed that name, been led by the true spirit of the gospel, and carefully conformed to this pattern, what an amiable and harmonious band of christian nations might, long ere this day, have existed upon earth!

“The advice of Jesus Christ to the rich man, who desired to know what he should do to inherit eternal life, is an instructive lesson to the rich.\* Origen, who lived in the latter part of the second century, has related this circumstance, as recorded in a book (now lost) entitled, ‘The Gospel according to the Hebrews.’ It is given by Origen in the Greek language, and quoted by Lardner, who gives the following translation:

“A certain rich man said to him, Master, what good thing shall I do, that I may live? He said unto him, man, keep the law and the prophets. He answered him, that I have done. He said unto him, go sell all that thou hast, and distribute among the poor, and come follow me. But the rich man began to scratch his head, and it did not please him. And the Lord said unto him how sayest thou, I have kept the law and the prophets? seeing it is written in the law, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; and, behold, many of thy brethren, sons of Abraham, are clothed with rags, ready to perish for hunger, whilst thy house is filled with all sorts of good

\* See Matt. xix. 21. Mark x. 21, and Luke xviii. 22.



things, and nothing goes out of it to them. And turning about, he said to his disciple Simon, who was sitting by him, Simon, son of Joanna, it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.\*

"Let every professor of Christianity, and especially those who possess property, apply the case to himself, and then ask his own soul, what reward he has a right to expect hereafter, for his profession, without a real and actual devotion of substantial service, with all he possesses, to God. Can he expect a substantial reward for professed services, empty prayers, and formal ceremonies, which cost him little or nothing, and which afford his poor neighbours, and even his fellow-christians, no real benefit, temporal nor spiritual, to soul nor body?"

As far as the history of the Shakers can establish the fact, it has certainly shown, that where property is held in community, and not individually, the disposition to bestow it in works of charity and benevolence to others is greatly increased. And that the property itself is better managed, for accumulation and preservation, no one can doubt, who has watched the progressive advancement which this Society has made in the augmentation, as well as improvement, of its possessions; and in the neatness, order, and perfection by which every thing they do or make is characterized: this is so much the case, that over all the United States, the seeds, plants, fruits, grain, cattle, and manufactures, furnished by any settlement of Shakers, bears a premium, in the market, above the ordinary price of similar articles from other establishments. There being no idleness among them, all are productive. There being no intemperance among them, none are destructive. There being no misers among them, nothing is hoarded, or made to perish for want of use; so that while production and

\* See Lardner's Works, vol. ii. p. 505.



improvement are at their maximum, and waste and destruction at their minimum, the Society must go on increasing the extent and value of its temporal possessions, and thus increase its means of doing good, first within, and then beyond its own circle.

In support of the soundness of the principle, that co-operation is more productive of advantage to a community than competition, the history of the Shakers furnishes an irresistible proof; and if this doctrine had been unmixed with any peculiarities of moral or religious views, it would have spread more widely; for the principle is no doubt sound in itself, though often clouded and retarded in its progress, sometimes by having too little, and sometimes too much of religious belief mixed up with it by its respective advocates.

## CHAP. XXI.

Peculiar opinions as to the original sin of Adam and Eve—Scriptural authorities in support of these views—Milton's *Paradise Lost*—Curse denounced on woman at the fall—Fulfilment of this in the punishment of child-bearing—Peculiar crimes of the antediluvian world—Child-bearing of Sarah in her old age—First instance of a child being conceived through faith alone—Examples and illustrations from the Mosaic law—Authority of Mr. Wilberforce quoted by the Shakers—Profligacy of the sexes during the reign of antichrist—Early conduct of church reformers, Luther and Calvin—Authority of John Wesley in support of celibacy—Birth and example of the Saviour—Opinions of the apostles on the subject of marriage—Reply of Jesus to the Sadducees touching wives and husbands—The chosen saints in heaven “not defiled with women”—Answers of the Shakers to the objections urged against them—Admission of the utility of marriage to the “world's people”—Practice of clapping the hands and dancing, used in their worship—Examples of Miriam, Jephthah, and David—Scriptural commands to clap the hands, to sing, and dance—Answer to the objections made to these practices—General reflections on the sect and their peculiarities.

On the subject of abstaining from marriage, the authorities and reasonings of the Shakers are very full. They seem to have thought that this was the most difficult part of their system to render intelligible and acceptable to the world, and they have accordingly laboured with corresponding diligence to justify their opinions and practices in this respect, by an abundant quotation of scriptural authorities.

They begin by endeavouring to show that the fall of our first parents, Adam and Eve, consisted not in

the eating of the fruit which grew on the "tree of knowledge," but in that which the eating of this fruit excited them subsequently to acquire—namely, that criminal knowledge of each other, which they contend was the first act of sin, and first cause of shame, as expressed in the book of Genesis, iii. 7. And as an illustration of the process of the birth of sin from this communion, they quote the expressions of the apostle James, i. 14, 15.

On this subject, of the nature of the original sin committed by our first parents Adam and Eve, and by them transmitted to all their posterity, the following passages are selected from a large mass of others, as being those which are the most intelligible, and without which no just estimate could be conveyed, either of their own views on this subject, or of the reasonings and authorities on which they are founded.

"While the man and the woman stood in uprightness and innocence, 'they were both naked, and were not ashamed,' Gen. ii. 25, which certainly implies, not only that their nakedness was no just cause of shame, but that they never could have known it, had their innocence continued.

"Before the fall, they doubtless knew that they had no clothing; but now their eyes were opened, and they had acquired a criminal knowledge, and became sensible of a passion to which they had ever before been strangers, namely, shame.

"The origin of this will be easier to account for, if we suppose, with some, that the juice of this tree was inebriating, since we know from common observation, that juices of such a quality will excite strange commotions in the animal frame, and give a strong predominacy to the animal appetites.

"Under these circumstances we need not wonder at the subterfuges to which they ran, since it is never expected that the conduct of persons under the power of intoxication, or the oppression of guilt, should be perfectly consistent with the rules of cool reflection.

"According to the above, shame was the effect of a criminal knowledge, which is most strictly true. By eating the forbidden fruit, they knew that they were naked: and hence that shameful act is so commonly expressed by the term knowing."\* Gen. iv. 1—25.

It is not assumed that the production of offspring was not intended by God to take place between Adam and Eve; but it is believed by the Shakers, that this was to be under subjection to certain laws of times and seasons; to be considered as a solemn and religious duty, for the mere purpose of multiplying their race, and with feelings the most remote from those of mere concupiscence. They insist that this would have been the case in the fulness of time, if Adam and Eve had preserved their original innocence by obedience; but by transgressing the command of God, in eating of the fruit which he had forbidden, they yielded, in the language of Milton, to the "carnal desire" with which this fruit inflamed them; and thus sinned by a *premature* and *guilty* commission of an act, which, if performed at a later period and with other motives, would have been innocent and honourable; just, as with the world at present, the giving birth to offspring before marriage is deemed guilty and degrading, though the same event after marriage, is by the same persons regarded as perfectly innocent and honourable. Therefore it is they express themselves as in the following paragraph:

"It must be granted by all, that God formed the woman for the man, and gave her to him, and commanded them to be fruitful: at

\* Milton gives a striking description of the effects of the forbidden fruit on Adam and Eve, in the following lines:—

"———But that false fruit

Carnal desire inflaming; he on Eve

Began to cast lascivious eyes, she him

As wantonly repaid; in lust they burn."

*Paradise Lost, Book IX.*

least, it was a natural law established in them by the order of creation. But how were they fruitful? Did God own that for real fruit which they brought forth?

"The effect must be like its cause. 'A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit.' Their first fruit was a murderer, which proved that the cause from which he sprang, was something wholly different from the original and pure law of nature. As it is written, 'Cain was of that wicked one, and slew his brother;' hence it is certain that he was not begotten of God, nor according to his will, but through the lusts of 'the wicked one.'

"Therefore, we say, if there be a man and woman now existing on the earth, honestly united in a covenant of promise to each other, who have so much of the fear of God, as never to gratify their desires in any other manner than with the sole motive to obey the will of God, they are verily an honour to the original law of nature, a blessing to themselves and posterity, and an example to the human race."

The difficulty of living in a state of wedlock, and conforming to this standard of purity which is here set up, is so great, however, in the estimation of the Shakers, that they deem the only safe mode of life to be that of complete separation in the sexes: accordingly, not only do they themselves live separately in their communities, but, if "people of the world," as strangers are called by them, visit their establishments, and are obliged to remain all night, they separate husband and wife without scruple, and put them to sleep in different apartments.

In following out the exposition of their views on this subject, of the first origin of sin, and its inevitable consequences, they offer the following array of authorities and opinions.

"It is granted, that sin is the first cause of shame; for when Adam and Eve stood in a state of innocence, they were both naked, and were not ashamed. But no sooner had they transgressed, than

they felt shame, and made themselves aprons of fig-leaves, to cover themselves with.

"If their transgression is to be considered in a literal sense, and not as represented in a figure, why did not the shame fall upon the hand that took the fruit, and the mouth that ate it?

"But it does not appear that God took any notice of the hand, or the mouth, in pronouncing the curse which they had merited; for these are the words of the Scriptures :

"And God said unto the woman, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow, and thy conception; in sorrow shalt thou bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.\*

"Why multiply her sorrow and her conception? Why not punish her in some other way? Because God distributes punishments according to the nature of the crime.

"Hence, from the very nature of the curse denounced upon the woman, it is easy to see wherein the offence lay."

As regards the man, they contend, that the superior power, or predominating influence of carnal desire over every other feeling of his nature, is itself a proof of its being the poison left as a taint of the original sin; and this view they support by the following arguments :—

"Man, under its influence, bears every thing before him with impetuosity. No other object that can be presented, attracts his notice while that is in view; his ears are stopped to every other sound, but the voice of the charmer; he is insensible to every other pleasure.

"Surely, then, that must be the fountain-head, the governing power, that shuts the eyes, stops the ears, and stupifies the sense to all other objects of time or eternity, and swallows up the whole man in its own peculiar enjoyment.

"And such is that feeling and affection, which is formed by the near relation and tie between the male and female; and which being corrupted by the subversion of the original law of God, con-

\* Genesis, iii. 16.

verted that which in the beginning was pure and lovely, into the poison of the serpent; and the noblest affection of man, into the seat of human corruption."

Another proof, as the Shakers conceive, of the truth of their position as to the nature of the original sin, and the effects produced by it on the first generations of men, is to be found in the history of the antediluvian world, and the character of the crimes by which it was polluted; crimes so offensive to the Deity, that he resolved to sweep the perpetrators of them from off the face of the earth by a deluge. This is stated by them at great length and supported by reference to the book of Genesis, vi. 1 to 13.

A further argument, as the Shakers conceive, in favour of the Divine disapprobation of the sin adverted to, is to be found in the history of Abraham and Sarah, and the son born to them through faith in their old age, for which they refer to the following passages of Scripture: Genesis, chap. xvii. and xviii. and Hebrews, chap. xi.

The injunctions and prohibitions of the Levitical law, under Moses, are next cited, to prove, that, by that divine lawgiver, the same sentiments were entertained as those professed by the Shakers themselves; and these are the passages of Scripture cited by them on this head—Numbers, c. xix. v. 20. 22; Deuteronomy, c. xxiii. v. 10, 11; Numbers, c. xii. v. 14; Hebrews, c. xiii. v. 13; Leviticus, c. xv. v. 16, 17, 18, 32; c. xxii. v. 4, 5, 6; Jude, 23; Leviticus, c. xii. v. 2, 7.

"Thus, (say the Shakers,) a mother among the Hebrews could touch no hallowed thing, nor come into the sanctuary, until



the days of her purifying were fulfilled, which were forty days for a male child, and eighty days if she brought forth a female child. And in order to be restored, she was required to bring a burnt-offering and a sin-offering, to make an atonement; a sin-offering unto the Lord, made by fire.\* Moses also, in communicating the commands of God to the people, and bidding them prepare and sanctify themselves for coming to his presence, when the law was to be delivered on Mount Sinai, expressly enjoins on them the abstinence which the Shakers themselves practise and recommend.”†

It is remarkable that the late Mr. Wilberforce, our English statesman and philanthropist, should be quoted by the Shakers, in support of their views on this subject, though the passages they cite certainly bear the import assigned to them, namely, that there is a secret cause of sin, which is carefully concealed in all our general confessions: and this hidden and original taint, they contend, is the uncontrollable dominion of this powerful passion. The following are the passages from Mr. Wilberforce’s volume on Religion:—

“ ‘But though these effects of human depravity,’ says the writer, ‘are everywhere acknowledged and lamented, we must not expect to find them traced to their true origin. *Causa latet, vis est notissima:*’ i. e. the cause lies concealed, the effect is notorious.†

“ ‘How, on any principles of common reasoning, can we account for it (this corruption,) but by conceiving that man, since he came out of the hands of the Creator, has contracted a taint, and that the venom of this subtle poison has been communicated throughout the race of Adam, everywhere exhibiting incontestable marks of its fatal malignity.

“ ‘Sensual gratifications and illicit affections have debased our nobler powers, and indisposed our hearts to the discovery of God.—

\* Leviticus, c. ii. v. 13.

† Exodus, c. xix, v. 15.

‡ Wilberforce on Religion. Boston Ed. 1803, p. 17, 18.

By a repetition of vicious acts, evil habits have been formed within us, and have riveted the fetters of sin. All, without exception, in a greater or less degree, bear about them, more visible or more concealed, the ignominious marks of their captivity.

“Such, on a full and fair investigation, must be confessed to be the state of facts; and how can this be accounted for on any other supposition, than that of some original taint, some radical principle of corruption? All other solutions are unsatisfactory, while the potent cause which has been assigned, does abundantly, and can alone sufficiently account for the effect.’ So says Wilberforce, and that with the greatest reason and truth. Then let it be so.”

It is next contended that one of the most striking characteristics of the reign of Antichrist, was the prevalence of illicit indulgences even among that particular order of priesthood, the Catholic, which professedly declared their abhorrence of them by taking an oath to abstain from such gratifications.

“Hence (say the Shakers) their mock institutions were, eventually, productive of millions of lazy, useless beings, who for ages were a common pest to civil society. True, these monastics and conventuals professed continence and chastity, and under this profession claimed a sumptuous living from more virtuous citizens. But how abundantly was their hypocrisy detected, and their horrid licentiousness exposed! So much so, indeed, that a convent or nunnery is a very proverb of contempt to this day.”

Nor were the church reformers, Luther and Calvin, much better, according to the opinion of the Shakers, who, in their testimony on this subject, have many striking passages from ecclesiastical history, of which the following are only a few.

“When Dr. Carlostadt broke his solemn oath of perpetual continence which he had made to God, what kind of a reforming spirit did Luther manifest? In his letter to Amsdorff he very plainly shows what he was most intent on promoting, as appears from the

following words: 'The nuptials of Carlostadt please wonderfully; the Lord strengthen him in the good example!'

"But as Carlostadt put off his veil of hypocrisy, and made a regular and bold provision for the works of the flesh, it was counted a good example, and Luther himself soon after followed it. He married a nun whose name was Catherine à Bora, whereby both of them broke their solemn vows of continency which they had made before God.

"Bishop Challoner, after stating Luther's general character, very properly adds, 'But what was the most scandalous in a pretended restorer of the purity of religion, was his marrying a nun, after the most solemn vows, by which both he and she had consecrated themselves to God in the state of perpetual continency.'

"John Calvin was originally designed for the church, and had actually obtained a benefice;† of course he must have come under the common oath of continency; yet it seems that he was not subject to the law, which saith concerning the high priest among his brethren, that 'a widow shall he not take, but he shall take a virgin of his own people to wife.'§

"Nor was he subject to the example of Jesus Christ, nor to his own solemn oath; for 'he married the widow of an Anabaptist at Strasburg.'|| And thus, according to the law, he profaned his office in the highest degree, by mixing with a people who were condemned, both by Papists and Protestants, as heretics, and counted by Luther himself no better than mad-dogs.

A contrast is then offered by the Shakers, in the language of Mr. Wilberforce, in his book on Religion, where he offers a commentary on the Christian precept "Mortify the flesh with its affections and lusts;"

\* The original extract of this letter, in Luther's own words, runs thus: "Carlostadii nuptiæ mire placent: novi puellam: comfortet eum Dominus in bonum exemplum inhibendæ et minuendæ papisticæ libidinis."

† Grounds of Catholic Doctrine, p. 54.

‡ Eccl. Hist. vol. iv. p. 87. Note [a.]

§ Lev. xxi. 13, 14. || Eccl. Researches, p. 541.

and the following passage is also given from the celebrated John Wesley.

"Again, says John Wesley, 'There are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake—happy they! who have abstained from marriage (though without condemning or despising it) that they might walk more closely with God! He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.'"<sup>\*</sup>

The last authorities for leading a life of continence and chastity, used by the Shakers, are taken from the New Testament, and drawn not only from the life and conduct of the Saviour and his apostles, but from their precepts and injunctions to those who followed after them. Among the arguments used by them are the following:—

"Jesus Christ was born of a virgin. Thus a pure virgin character was chosen to receive the first seed of the New Creation; an incontestable evidence of the pure nature of that work which he was sent to introduce into the world, for the salvation and redemption of mankind from that impure nature in which they were begotten. And as his conception was without impurity, it teaches us that, at the first entrance of souls into the life of Christ, they must reject that very impurity which was first rejected in his conception.

"The miraculous birth of Jesus Christ by a virgin, also shows that, in him, the work of natural generation ceased, and a new and spiritual creation commenced. Hence, in the regeneration, all who are begotten of Christ must necessarily cease from that work, or lose that spiritual life which they receive from him.

"The devout Jews esteemed the virgin life the most pure; and virgins were often honoured with prophetic oracles and gifts of the Spirit, when such manifestations of divine favour were almost entirely withdrawn from all other classes of people among them. Josephus informs us that the Essenes, who maintained the virtue of continence, were many of them favoured with divine revelations.<sup>†</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> Wesley's Notes on Matt. xix. 20.

<sup>†</sup> It is worthy of remark, that the Essenes were the only sect of the Jews whom Jesus did not expressly reprove.

"In the days of the apostles, virgins were particularly honoured with the Spirit of God. The daughters of Philip the evangelist were virgins, and were blest with prophetic gifts.\* It is stated by Dr. Horneck, that, in the days of the primitive Christians, 'Thousands of their virgins freely dedicated themselves to God, and would be married to none but him; and though many times they were tempted by rich fortunes, yet nothing could alter their resolutions.'†

"But the most plain and pointed testimony of the apostle, in favour of a virgin life, is given in the seventh chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians, by which he clearly shows the wide difference between virgin purity and its opposite; and in which he prophetically points to a day of more perfect purity, when all such indulgences must come to an end. And all the attempts of modern Christians to draw from the apostle's doctrine any license to indulge their propensities, are but so many evidences of the depraved state of their own minds, and their ignorance of the true nature of that gospel purity which the apostle is so careful to impress upon the minds of the Corinthian Christians.

"'He that is married careth for the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife.' Also, 'she that is married careth for the things of the world, how she may please her husband.' But the unmarried, or those who live a virgin life,‡ 'care for the things of the Lord, how they may be holy, both in body and in spirit.' 'I would that all men were even as I myself,' says the apostle, who himself was not married. 'I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, it is good for them if they abide even as I.'§

As to the authority of the Saviour himself on the subject of marriage, the Shakers contend that it may be fairly inferred that he held it to be unsuited to those who were to live a life of holiness; first, in the fact of his not being the fruit of marriage; and,

\* See Acts xxi. 9.

† See Wesley's Christian Library, vol. xxix. p. 136.

‡ It is evident that the apostle here alluded to those who really lived a virgin life for Christ's sake and the gospel's, and not to those who were merely unmarried, and yet lived in carnal indulgences.

§ 1 Corinth. vii. 8.

secondly, by his abstaining himself from such an institution or alliance; and this they consider to be greatly strengthened by his reply to the Sadducees on a question respecting marriage, of which the following is their version :—

“ When the Sadducees, who denied the resurrection of the soul, and the very existence of a spiritual world, questioned with Jesus concerning the woman who had been the wife of seven husbands, whose wife she should be in the resurrection? His answer was, ‘ The children of this world marry, and are given in marriage; but they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage. Neither can they die any more; for they are equal unto the angels; and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection.’\* ”

And, lastly, to carry on their authorities to the very end of the scriptural records, they quote the following remarkable passage from the book of Revelations of St. John :—

“ ‘ And I looked, and, lo! a Lamb stood on the Mount Sion, and with him a hundred forty and four thousand, having his Father’s name written in their foreheads.† But who are these hundred and forty-four thousand? ‘ These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins.’ ”

“ Some suppose this to include that particular number only, who will attain to that honour. Be this as it may, it is a striking evidence that none but those who live a virgin life can obtain so great a privilege; and therefore such a life must not only be the most acceptable in the sight of God and the Lamb, but is that alone which can stand with the Lamb on Mount Zion.”

“ ‘ These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth.’ That is, they walk in perfect obedience to the law of Christ, and follow his example in all purity and holiness; not defil-

\* Luke xx. 36.

† Revelation, xiv. 1—5.

ing themselves with women, nor living in any uncleanness, or in any selfish gratification whatever."

The Shakers, however, are not content with this array of scriptural authorities, from Genesis to Revelation, in favour of their views as to the nature of the original sin, and the expediency and propriety of a life of celibacy, but they boldly and frankly undertake to answer the objections urged by the world in general to the doctrines in question. In this they are as elaborate as in the exhibition of their original authorities; but without following them through all they have said on this subject, one example of the manner in which they answer these objections, is worth giving, as a specimen of the reasoning used, and the spirit and feeling with which their arguments are urged.

"Objection: Jesus Christ himself did not condemn marriage; but, on the contrary, he not only honoured a marriage with his presence, but gave it an extraordinary and most miraculous sanction, by turning water into wine for the guests to drink. What greater evidence could any one ask, to prove his divine approbation?"

"Answer: His enemies adopted the same mode of reasoning to prove him a 'gluttonous man and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners;' and doubtless they felt as much confidence in the strength of their argument as our objectors do in theirs. And why should they not? Did he not honour with his presence the assemblies of publicans and harlots? Did he not eat and drink with them, and work miracles for them? And where was the Pharisee that would not have condemned a man for a wine-bibber, and a promoter of drunkenness, who would go and turn so much water into wine 'after men had well drunk?' And could any man that would frequent the assemblies of such base characters, escape the scandal of being a partaker with them, or the charge of encouraging them in their wickedness?"

"So reasoned the Scribes and Pharisees, and so will all carnal men reason when they want to subvert the testimony of truth for



the purpose of promoting their own carnal views. But with all their reasoning, and all their evidence, they could never prove that the Lord Jesus ever sanctioned the evil practices of these sinners, or authorized them to continue in sin. It is true he did not condemn this darling practice of the world; nor did he condemn the adulteress, though she was taken in the very act; but after convicting her accusers, he bid her 'go, and sin no more.' He was not sent into the world to condemn the world; that was not the object of his mission; 'but that the world through him might be saved.'"\*

The Shakers conclude the defence of their own celibacy, by admitting the utility of marriage as a civil institution, for such of the inhabitants of the world as are still living in a natural state: but they hold, that the utility of the institution altogether ceases, when men and women become true Christians, and join in Christian communities. Their views on this subject should be given in their own language. They say,

"We consider matrimony to be a civil institution, and as such, it is both useful and necessary for mankind in their natural state: but it does not belong to the true followers of Christ; and for that reason they have nothing to do with it. As members of a christian institution, established by the law of Christ, and wholly unconnected with the civil, political, and religious institutions of the world, it is inconsistent with our christian faith to interfere with any of their concerns. At the same time, we are perfectly willing that every such institution, which produces any beneficial influence on its members, should be freely supported by those to whom it belongs, and whose concern it is to support it; and it is right and just that all people should act according to their own faith in this, as well as in all other matters.

"But though we acknowledge the marriage institution to be both useful and necessary for the world in its present state; yet for the followers of Christ, who are called to forsake the course of the world, and to 'crucify the flesh with all its affections,' it is neither

\* John, ch. iii. v. 17.

necessary nor useful, but the contrary ; it therefore forms no part of their duty, and can have no place among them."

Such are the views of the Shakers on this question, and such the authorities on which they defend them. The only other peculiarity in their practice, which remains to be mentioned, is that of their using dancing, and clapping of hands, as well as singing, in their worship. On this subject, too, they fortify themselves with abundant Scriptural authorities ; and the following may be taken as a brief and condensed statement of these, in their own words :

"The exercise of dancing, in the worship of God, was brought to light, not as an exercise of human invention, instituted by human authority ; but as a manifestation of the will of God, through the special operations of his divine power.

"When the children of Israel were delivered from their Egyptian bondage, (which was a striking figure of the redemption of God's people from the dominion of sin,) Moses and the children of Israel sung unto the Lord a song of thanksgiving for their deliverance. And Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand ; and all the women went out after her, with timbrels and with dances.' Also, when Jephthah returned from his victory over the children of Ammon, 'his daughter came out to meet him with timbrels and with dances.' So also, after the victory of David and the Israelites over Goliath and the Philistine armies, 'the women came out of all the cities of Israel, singing and dancing.' And again ; at the yearly feast of the Lord in Shiloh, the daughters of Shiloh came out 'to dance in dances.' And when the ark of God was removed and established in the city of David, the occasion was celebrated by the same exercise ; 'David and all Israel danced before the Lord.'

"We are aware that a strong prejudice prevails against the exercise of dancing as an act of divine worship, in consequence of its having been, for many ages, perverted to the service of the wicked. But we would seriously ask whether the same objections will not operate, still more forcibly, against singing as an act of divine worship ? Music, unconnected with dancing, is, doubtless, much

more generally used as an amusement of the wicked. The talents of poetry and music, exclusive of their connection with dancing, are still far more abused by being devoted to base purposes.

"Is there a single base passion, or evil propensity, in human nature, which has not been more or less excited, indulged, and gratified, by means of poetical and musical compositions? How often have the angry passions been roused by war-songs, that urged mankind to mutual butchery, blood, and slaughter? How often have the lascivious passions been excited and indulged by obscene songs!—How often is morality set at nought, and piety and religion abused, yea, and the name of God and all sacred things blasphemed by the wicked, in their profane songs! How often has vice been exalted, virtue depressed, and villany emboldened in crimes, by songs calculated and used for those very purposes! Do not the revels of drunkards, and profane swearers, often owe their excesses to their bacchanalian songs, as well as to their bottles?

"In short, have not thefts, robberies, and murders, and indeed every species of villany, been much more excited and encouraged by music than by dancing? And yet music has been encouraged and practised, as a part of divine worship, by nearly all denominations, while dancing has been condemned and excluded. But upon what principle? Why, truly upon this; 'that dancing cannot be an acceptable mode of worship, because it is practised in the carnal recreations of the wicked!' Yet no reader of the Scriptures can doubt but that dancing was acceptable to God as an exercise of religious worship in times past; and will be in time to come, according to the prediction of the prophet—

" 'Again I will build thee, and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel! thou shalt again be adorned with thy tabrets, and shalt go forth in the dances of them that make merry.—Then shall the virgin rejoice in the dance, both young men and old together.—Turn again, O virgin of Israel! turn again to these thy cities.\*

"God requires the faithful improvement of every created talent. O clap your hands, all ye people; shout unto God with the voice of triumph.—Sing unto the Lord a new song; sing his praise in the congregation of the saints. Let the children of Zion be joyful in their King; let them praise his name in the dance.†

\* Jeremiah c. 31, v. 4, 13, 21.

† Psa. xlvii. 1. and cxlix. 1, 2, 3.

"These expressions of the inspired Psalmist are worthy of serious consideration. Do they not evidently imply that the Divine Spirit which dictated them, requires the devotion of all our faculties in the service of God? How then can any people, professing religion, expect to find acceptance with God by the service of the tongue only?"

"Since we are blessed with hands and feet, those active and useful members of the body, on which we mostly depend in our own service, shall we not acknowledge our obligations to God who gave them, by exercising them in our devotions to him? There is too powerful a connection between the body and mind, and too strong an influence of the mind upon the body, to admit of much activity of mind in the service of God, without the co-operating exercises of the body. But where the heart is sincerely and fervently engaged in the service of God, it has a tendency to produce an active influence on the body."

To those who have witnessed the effects of music, in quickening the devotional feelings of both Catholic and Protestant, and the effect of clapping of hands, and other expressions of sympathy in crowded assemblies, there can be no difficulty in understanding that the same class of feelings may be much heightened by the exercises of the dance; so that, supposing the object of using it as a part of their worship to be the quickening this feeling among the devotees, there is a perfect adaptation of means to ends, and a consistency in the application of them.

Strange as these doctrines and practices of the Shakers may appear to all but members of their own body, we should not forget that all new modes of faith and worship appear strange to those who hear of or witness them for the first time, and that habit alone renders them perfectly reasonable and acceptable to those who practise them from their infancy, whether Pagan, Jewish, Mohammedan, or Christian. From every inquiry I could make, however, of those longest

resident in the neighbourhood of the Shakers, I could learn no authenticated case of evil practices among them. On the contrary, every one appeared ready to bear testimony to their honesty, punctuality, industry, sobriety, and chastity.

The instances are very few indeed, in which there have been any secessions from their Society, while additions are made to their numbers every year; and as they have within themselves the means of increasing prosperity and abundance—of contentment with their temporal wealth, and satisfaction with their spiritual exercises—there seems no reason to apprehend their speedy decline; especially as they are relieved from some of the most prolific sources of quarrel and strife among mankind in general. They have no individual property; but hold all their worldly goods in common. By this alone, all contentions about property—which forms the subject of half the contentions of the world—are abolished. They have no marrying nor giving in marriage; and therefore all strife, occasioned by disappointed passion, satiety, jealousy, care of offspring, and other consequences resulting from this institution in the ordinary world, are unknown to them. They have no political or priestly rulers; and, therefore, all the evils of party contention in politics, and secular and clerical disputes for power and pre-eminence, are banished from their community. They have no idleness, and no intemperance—the two fruitful mothers of crime, vice, and remorse of conscience; and this again assures them great tranquillity, in their freedom from all the evils which these two sources are sure to engender.

Supposing them to be sincerely convinced of the truth of their doctrines, and the propriety of their practices, and to be voluntary members of the community—on both of which there is the strongest evidence of the affirmative, while of the negative there is no evidence at all—I can conceive them to be a very happy community within themselves; and productive of no political or moral evils to the neighbourhood in which they are planted, or to the country over which they may be spread.—I say this frankly; but at the same time without any participation in the peculiarity of their religious views or social habits, which must rest on their own defence, of both of which I have given the leading arguments; and I have preferred giving these in their own language, to offering any abstract of them, as more satisfactory to those who desire to consult the original authorities, and to form their own opinions on the subject.

## CHAP. XXII.

Journey from Albany to Schenectady—Description of the city and college—Journey from Schenectady to Ballston Centre—Stay at the country seat of Mr. Delavan—Efforts for the promotion of temperance—General Cocke, the philanthropist of Virginia—Mr. Delavan's mission to England—Proposed plan for the benefit of emigrants—First intercourse with American farmers—Inferior appearance of the country to England—Superior condition of the farmers and labourers—Independence of the occupiers of land—Absence of tithes, poor-laws, and other burdens—Superior intelligence of American farmers—More comfortable condition of farm-labourers—Fine field for European emigrants—Causes which retard their progress here—Statistical proofs of the evils of intemperance—Contrast produced by temperate habits among farmers—High state of general health in the district—Longevity of the temperate livers—Small proportions of paupers needing relief—First Sabbath spent in a rural district—Happy and prosperous condition of domestics—Regularity of attendance on public worship—Equality of privilege among all classes—America a land of contrasts in good and evil—Practice of "lobbying" in the State legislatures—Corresponding corrupt practices in England—Journey through Ballston to Saratoga.

ON Monday, the 16th of July, we left Albany, to pay a visit to Mr. E. C. Delavan, at his country residence, near Ballston Springs, in Saratoga county, with whom we had promised to spend a week before going to the springs at Saratoga. We left Albany at nine o'clock, by the railroad cars for Schenectady, and after a ride of about 16 miles, through a pleasant and fertile country, which occupied nearly an hour, we arrived at this city about 10 o'clock. On entering it we descended over a steep hill, by an inclined plane,



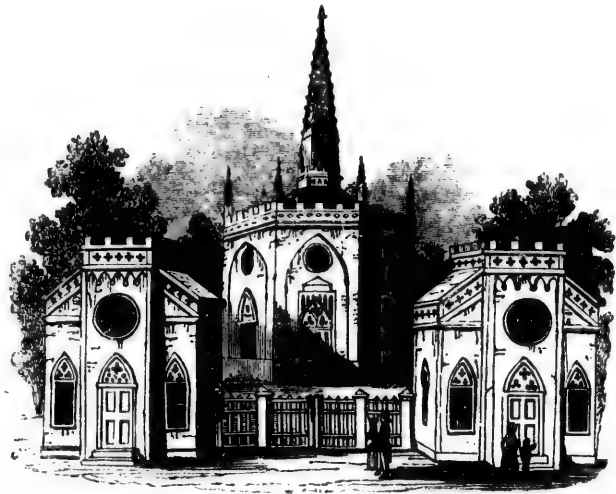
which commences about a mile from the town, and the view from this elevation is commanding and agreeable.

Schenectady, which retains the Indian name of the settlement on which it was first built, is one of the oldest cities in the United States. Some authorities giving it precedence, by a year or two, over Albany, make it therefore equal in antiquity with James Town in Virginia, which was settled in 1608; others consider it a year or two posterior to Albany, which was settled in 1612: either account, therefore, making it more than two centuries old, which, for America, is a high degree of antiquity.

Schenectady is seated on the banks of the river Mohawk, which winds in great beauty along the level plain whereon the city stands. Its incorporated extent is very considerable, comprehending, as we were told, a square of 15 miles on each side: but, like Washington, neither occupied, nor ever likely to be built on, to one-third of its chartered dimensions.

The present population of Schenectady, after its two centuries of existence, does not embrace more than 6,000 persons; and there is perhaps no city of the same amount of inhabitants in all the State, that has been so stationary of late years, as this. It was burnt down by the Indians in 1690; and suffered considerable injury by a large fire in 1819—since which the buildings have assumed a more modern appearance than those of the old Dutch settlers, of which the town was before chiefly composed,

There is a Lyceum in the city, of a curiously mixed gothic architecture, but the principal establishment here is Union College, the president of which,



the Rev. Dr. Nott, was the companion of our journey from Albany to Schenectady. This establishment is built on an eminence to the eastward of the city, of which, and of the Mohawk river it commands a fine view. The expense of its erection and furniture with all the necessary apparatus of education, has cost upwards of 300,000 dollars, or 60,000%, the funds for which were partly advanced by the State, and partly raised by lotteries for that purpose, authorized by the State. The number of students in the college exceeds 200; and the expense of each student, including all charges, is about 150 dollars, or 30% per annum. Its religious and literary character ranks high among the public institutions of the Union; and it is consequently very popular with the community.

As the rail-road for Utica and the West, branches off from this place, while that for Ballston and Saratoga goes on to the north, we had to change our cars, and found the facilities for this quite as great as in any similar establishment in England. By this train, which travelled at about the same rate as the former, twenty miles in the hour, we reached our destination about eleven o'clock ; and finding Mr. Delavan waiting for us with a carriage, we were taken by him to his farm at Ballston Centre, and were cordially welcomed by his amiable wife and himself, as to our own home.

We remained at this agreeable and happy abode for about ten days, in the full enjoyment of the most delightful weather, pleasant rides and walks, books, occasional visitors, and frank-hearted and intelligent entertainers, full of elevated thoughts and benevolent feelings, and never more happy than while projecting plans and indulging hopes for the improvement of the condition of society.

Mr. Delavan had been one of the first to commence the great work of Temperance Reform in America, and had devoted about seven years of active service, to the editorship of the Temperance Intelligencer and Recorder, published at Albany. In addition to this, he had expended, from his own private purse, upwards of 50,000 dollars, or 10,000% sterling, in support of the cause ; and on resigning his situation as chairman of the executive committee of the Temperance Society in 1836, he presented the funds with a donation of 10,000 dollars more, to be expended in establishing agencies for promoting temperance within the State of New York alone. Dur-

ing our stay here, he had been called off to Philadelphia to meet his colleagues, or brother members of the American Temperance Union, some of whom came from Virginia, others from Maryland, and others from equally distant points of the country, to confer together on a plan for extending the benefit of their labours to Europe, for placing some temperance documents in the hands of all the emigrants leaving England and elsewhere for the United States, and for bringing some plan to bear on the numerous class engaged in steam-navigation on the western rivers of America.

General Cocke, of Virginia, an eminent philanthropist and distinguished public man, charged himself with the execution of the latter duty ; as his position,—as president of the board of internal improvements in Virginia, where they were opening a canal-navigation of 200 miles, with rail-roads to continue the line on to the Mississippi—would afford him great advantages in the exercise of his influence on this great work, and through it to reach the steam-navigation of the West ; while Mr. Delavan, whose previous residence in England, and whose active habits of business and extensive connexions in Europe, seemed to fit him for that branch of operations, had charged himself with the execution of the former.

Mr. Delavan proposed, therefore, leaving this for England with his family in September next, to carry forward the plan proposed. With this view he had drawn up a circular, addressed to the emigrants leaving Europe, and intended to form depôts at all the sea-ports from which emigrants embarked, where, under the direction of appointed agents, this circular

should be printed in all the requisite languages, English, Irish, German, and French, and a copy placed in the hands of every emigrant at the moment of his embarking, pointing out the safest and the best course for his future conduct, to ensure success to his labours in this country. In addition to this, he purposed organizing a committee of influential gentlemen in England, to raise a fund for the purpose of laying before the British public, through the press, the history of the great improvements accomplished in America, by means of the Temperance Reformation; and to devote a year in time, and 10,000 dollars in money, to the accomplishment of this great object of pure and disinterested benevolence towards his fellow-beings.

During our stay at Mr. Delavan's, we had an opportunity of visiting many of the neighbouring farmers, and receiving visits from others, with their families, as well as of inspecting the condition of their farms, and becoming acquainted with the circumstances of the farm-labourers; for we were now entirely in the country, several miles from any town, and among people wholly devoted to agricultural life.

In the general appearance of the surface of the country, England is far superior to America. The great perfection to which every kind of cultivation has there attained, the noble mansions of the wealthy gentry, the fine parks and lawns, the beautiful hedge-row fences, the substantial stone farm-houses and out-buildings, and the excellent roads and conveyances, which are seen in almost every part of England, are not to be found here. But though, in these outward appearances, American farming districts are

inferior to English, yet in all substantial realities the superiority is on the side of America.

The occupier of a farm, whether large or small, is almost invariably the owner of the land he cultivates; and therefore all the disagreeable differences between landlords and tenants, with the vexations of the game laws, the authority of country squires and clerical magistrates, so fertile a source of annoyance in England, are here unknown. There being no tithes, great or small, for the support of a State clergy, all that large class of evils growing out of tithe disputes and tithe compositions, are here also unheard of. The labourers being fewer than are required, and wages being high, there are neither paupers nor poor-rates, and neither workhouses nor jails are required for the country population, since abundance of work and good pay prevents poverty, and takes away all temptation to dishonesty. There being no ranks or orders, such as the esquire and the baronet, the baron and the earl, the marquis and the duke, each to compete with and outvie the other in outward splendour, which too often leads to inward embarrassment, as in England, the country residents are free from that foolish ambition which devours the substance of too many at home; and all those idle disputes and distinctions about old families and new ones, people of high birth and people of low, country families and strangers, which so perplex the good people of England when a county meeting or a county ball takes place, so as to set persons in their right places, to admit some, exclude others, and so on, are here happily unthought of. The consequence is, that with more sources of pleasure, and few sources

of dissatisfaction, the American country gentry and farmers are much better off, and much happier than the same class of people in England. No corn laws exist to vex the landowner with a fear of their abolition, no non-payment of rents, and abatements to tenants, are ever heard of, for landlord and tenant are here merged in one. No distraint for tithes, or writs of ejectment, ever occur; and in short, scarcely anything ever happens to ruffle the serenity of a country life in the well-settled parts of America.

The greatest difference of all, however, between the agricultural population of England and those of the United States, is to be seen in their relative degrees of intelligence. In England, no one, I presume, will deny the fact, of the farmers and farm-labourers being among the least intelligent and most uneducated portion of the population. Here, on the contrary, they are among the most intelligent and best informed. A great number of the occupiers of farms are persons who, having been successful in business in cities, have retired at an early period of life, bought an estate, take delight in cultivating it on their own account for income, and as from seven to ten per cent. is realized on farming capital where carefully attended to, it is at once a safe and profitable investment.

These gentlemen having a good deal of leisure, little parish business to occupy them, and a taste for books and love of information, read a great deal more than the busy inhabitants of commercial cities, and have the power of exercising their judgment and reflection more free from the bias of party views and sectarian feelings, than those who live in large



communities. Their previous education and ample means dispose others also to works of benevolence; and the consequence is, that while their conversation is more intelligent, and their manners greatly superior to that of English farmers generally, they devote a large portion of their time and means to the establishment and support of Sunday schools, district schools, societies for mutual improvement, country libraries, temperance societies, savings' banks, and in short every thing that can elevate those below them, and make them better and happier in their stations.

There are no taverns, as in the market-towns of England, to absorb half the profits made at market by the drinking and carousing of the buyers and sellers, as is the case with English farmers; and as their mode of visiting and entertaining is social and economical, families are continually interchanging evening visits with each other, to take a cup of tea, fruit, ice-cream, and sweetmeats or other delicacies, but without spirits, wine, beer, or cider—retiring early, and all coming or going in vehicles adapted to their means, from gigs and phaetons, to carriages and family waggons, for there is neither tax nor duty on carriages, horses, or servants, all being free to ride or walk as suits their pleasure.

If the contrast is striking between the English and American farmer, it is still more so between the farm-labourers of the two countries. In England it is well known what miserable wages agricultural labourers receive; 10 to 12 shillings, perhaps the average;—what scanty fare they are obliged to subsist upon—flesh meat once or twice a week, at the

utmost ; and how perpetually they stand in danger of the workhouse, with all their desire to avoid it, with no education themselves, and no desire to procure any for their children. Here, there is not a labourer on the farm who receives less than a dollar a day, or 24 shillings per week ; while many receive more ; and those who are permanently attached to the farm have wages equal to that throughout the year. Besides this, they have as good living at the farm-house as prosperous tradesmen in the middle ranks of life enjoy in England ; three substantial meals a day, and in hay and harvest time four, with abundance and variety at each. At the same time they enjoy the advantages of excellent schools for the almost gratuitous education of their children, neat little cottages for themselves and wives to live in, a little plot of ground for gardening, and privileges in great number.

The consequence is, that the farm-labourers and their families are all well-fed, well-dressed, well-educated in all the ordinary elements of knowledge, intelligent in conversation, agreeable in manners, and as superior to the corresponding class of farm-labourers in England as all these advantages can indicate. There are no beer shops at which they spend their substance ; no haunts of vice and debauchery at which they concoct the plans of the poacher, the smuggler, or the robber, to make up by illicit gains the deficiencies of honest industry ; and, consequently, no need of prosecutions at the sessions, with all the array of constables, police, magistracy, and treadmills, to punish them and keep them in order. Nobody talks, or even appears to think, of house-breakers, and dwellings at distances of miles apart from

neighbours, are often left without the doors being locked or bolted, in summer and in winter all night long.

If the surplus population of Britain, who cannot obtain adequate remuneration for their labour at home, could but be prevailed upon to transport themselves at once to this country, and seek for employment where it is best found on their arrival; it is impossible to estimate, to their full extent, the benefits that would result to both countries, but, above all, to the parties emigrating. Here, millions of acres, now lying untouched, would be brought into cultivation, and the wealth of the country increased, while the spread of dwellings and population, the increase of towns and cities, the opening of rail-roads and canals, would send America a century forward in all that is desirable.

In England the effect would be felt, first by a rise in the wages and an improvement of the condition of those who remained at home; next, in the increased demand for British manufactures, which the increased population of America would create; and, lastly, by the strengthening of those ties of kindred and connexion between the people of the two countries, which would make all their friendly relations stronger and stronger, and make future wars between them more and more difficult, if not impossible.

The improvement of the condition of the emigrants themselves would be as great and as certain as that of the two countries, if they pursued a right course: and that, with good advice, and proper regulations, could almost be ensured. At present, as soon as they land in the sea-port town, they are beset with as

many harpies as surround the unhappy sailor when he first touches the shore, especially by the keepers of low taverns, and dram-shops. By them they are decoyed to their houses, made drunk under the pretext of a welcome and hospitality, their money taken from them if they have any, and, if they have not, a debt for board and drink contracted against them. They then roam about the city in search of employment, where little or none is to be had: they become inspired with a distaste for the country, where alone a sure and certain harvest of reward awaits them; and, like the moth which lingers around the flame until consumed by what dazzles it, they hang about the skirts of the cities and the grog shops, till their poverty tempts them to crime, when they become the inmates of the poor-house or the prison, and there end their days in neglect and misery.

It is ascertained, as a fact, that more than one-third of the emigrants from Europe die within the first three years of their residence in this country, though they generally come out in the full vigour of life; and of the whole number, there is not one out of fifty, whose death is not actually caused or greatly hastened by intemperance. A very instructive document on this subject came into my possession while at Mr. Delavan's, taken from the Temperance Recorder for November, 1832, the accuracy of which is testified by the signatures of nine of the principal medical officers of the State. It shows, that out of 336 deaths from cholera, which took place in Albany in the summer of 1832, omitting all under 16 years of age, 138 were foreigners, and mostly emigrants, of which no less than 108 were Irish, 15 English,

4 Scotch, 2 Welsh, 8 German, and 1 French: and of these the greatest number were the victims of intemperance; there being no less than 140 who were hard drinkers, 55 who drank freely, 131 who drank moderately, but habitually; while of the strictly temperate there were only 5; and of members of temperance societies only 2. Of the ages from 20 to 40, there were 189; and above 40 there were 147. The whole population of Albany was at this time about 26,000; and the members of temperance societies about 5,000, out of which only *two* individuals died; while 138 emigrants, mostly intemperate, perished.

As a contrast to this melancholy picture, it may be mentioned, that in the farming district in and around this spot, Ballston Centre, where, from the influence exerted by Mr. Delavan, and the spread of the temperance publications, the practice of total abstinence from all that can intoxicate is nearly universal, the health and longevity of the population is greater than in any part of the country; the deaths do not reach two per cent. per annum, varying between one and six-tenths and one and eight-tenths; the ages extend to eighty and ninety ordinarily; and, by the latest examination of the labouring people, it was ascertained that there was only one person in 1152 receiving pecuniary relief as being unable to subsist himself.

On Mr. Delavan's own farm, there was scarcely a labourer who had not money placed out at interest: his coachman, cook, and house-servants had several hundred dollars each, accumulating in the saving's bank; and additions made to this from the surplus of their wages every year. The gardener and farm-

servants were in the same prosperous condition, and had, moreover, small plots of land of which they were the owners. Throughout the whole of this district, the farmers, to a man, refuse to sell their grain for distillation, or for malting; while all the produce of their orchards, which is considerable, is devoted to the fattening of cattle, instead of the making of cider: and besides the great moral good thus effected in withholding the supplies of these materials for conversion into intoxicating drinks, they happily find themselves benefited rather than injured, in a pecuniary sense, by their present appropriation.

The Sabbath we passed at Ballston Centre offered a beautiful illustration of the effects of liberal institutions and temperate habits on the condition of domestics, and the relative position of masters and servants. Though there are no parish churches, in the sense in which we understand that term in England, there are sufficient places of worship for all who desire to attend them, including Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Methodist, and Baptist, which are the four most numerous denominations of Christians here. These churches (for all places of worship are so called, and the term chapel is never used) are placed at convenient distances, and generally with reference to centrality among the worshippers frequenting them; but while they are not more than half a mile from some of the farm-houses, they are six and seven miles from others.

No distance and no weather, however, prevents a general good attendance, as every family has one or more vehicles, open or covered, and abundance of horses, by which the whole family, servants, and

all, are easily conveyed to the church. Those who live near, return from the morning service to dinner at half-past twelve, and go to church again at one ; but those who live at a distance generally bring a cold dinner with them ; and in the interval between the morning and afternoon service, partake of it on the grass, in the neighbouring grounds if the weather be fine ; or at the nearest inn or house of accommodation, if the weather is bad. Some of the waggons bring 20 and 30 persons of the same farm to church, for none remain at home, and all are on a perfect footing of equality in the enjoyment of their privileges for that day.

From Mr. Delavan's residence, which in England would be called a "country seat," rather than a farmhouse, as it has all the elegancies of a gentleman's abode, and its occupier is a man of large fortune, the vehicle which conveyed the family to church was called "the Steam-boat," from its great length, though drawn on four wheels, and by a pair of horses. In it were seats for sixteen persons ; and in the same vehicle, the family and guests, or visitors, and all the servants, without distinction, drove to church in the forenoon—returned to a cold dinner at half-past twelve—repaired again to church in the afternoon—and all the house-servants and farm-labourers, after tea, which was taken at four, set out on foot to walk to the Sunday-school, and attend evening worship again after this. Amidst this devotion of their whole attention to religious duties, and complete freedom from labour of all kinds, there was no gloom, no discomfort, and no appearance of weariness, but as much of cheerful enjoyment visible in the counte-



nances and conduct of all, as could result only from the occupation being such as both the will and the heart approved. Without the slightest wish to prevent the freest exercise of individual opinion as to the observance of the Sabbath, I could not but wish that the mingling of the devout, the healthy, and the cheerful, which I witnessed on the first Sunday that I had passed among the rural population of America, could be substituted for the idle, dissipated, and intemperate manner in which it is too often passed by the rural, as well as by the civic population of my native land.

America is, however, a country of contrasts, where most things appear to be in extremes, where the good are better, and where the bad are worse, than the same classes are in England. During our stay at Ballston Centre, we heard the details of a case of depravity and corruption, such as we could hardly believe possible, in connection with the legislative proceedings of the State; and which I should certainly have thought to be a misrepresentation, if it had not received all the authenticity which the process of a court of justice could afford it.

A practice exists in the State capitals of the country, called "lobbying," which consists in this: A certain number of agents, selected for their skill and experience in the arts of deluding, persuading, and bribing the members, are employed by public companies and private individuals, who have bills before the legislature which they are anxious to get passed. These persons attend the lobby of the House daily, talk with members, form parties, invite them to dinners and suppers, and having, besides their daily pay, a good sum of money given them to cover these

expenses, they usually succeed in corrupting a sufficient number of the members to effect their purpose, though occasionally, of course, they fail. In one of these instances, the parties employing a Mr. Hillyer of New York as a "Lobbyer," to promote the passing of a bill through the Trenton legislature, in the State of New Jersey, to incorporate the Berger Port Company, refused to pay him the sum he demanded for his services, which was 2,220 dollars; upon which he brought his action in the court of common pleas, to recover the same.

On this trial, a full developement of this practice of "lobbying" was made, by which it appeared that it was carried on to a great extent; and that terrapin and oyster suppers, and champagne, were among the most effective means of persuasion used with members to make them look favourably on measures submitted to their investigation and decision. The trial is altogether so curious a chapter in the domestic history of America, that I have given it a place, at full length, in the Appendix, believing, as I do, that such public and authentic documents as these throw more light on the actual condition of a country—and I am, too, happy to include the documents of a favourable nature also, of which there are many—than any mere descriptions of the state of manners by a stranger; because these are portraits of their own characters, drawn by their own hands, and cannot, therefore, be complained of as the calumnies of a foreigner.\*

At the same time that this disclosure places the character of such of the State legislators of America

\* See Appendix, No. IV.

as are thus operated upon, in a very unfavourable point of view, it must not be forgotten, that in the history of the East India Company, the South Sea Company, and other public corporations in England, the wholesale bribery practised by them to secure the votes of members in the British parliament, peers as well as commoners, and sometimes even royalty itself, was as flagrantly corrupt as anything that the annals of any country could produce. The whole business of the old parliament, in the borough-influence times, was conducted mainly by bribery, on the part of ministers, to their adherents, in places, contracts, and benefits of one kind or another. And in the bubble-year of 1825, when speculating companies started up in every corner, and Parliament was applied to for legislative sanction to their undertakings, it is well known that the chairman of the committee of ways and means in the British House of Commons, and several other members, were detected in acts of the grossest corruption, by receiving shares in companies without payment, on condition of their giving their parliamentary support to bills for their incorporation.

Similar practices, better concealed, no doubt, exist in the British Parliament to the present day, where, in the various rail-roads, harbours, canals, and other public undertakings requiring parliamentary sanction by bills or acts of incorporation, the prices paid for property to members, or friends of members, through whose estates such works are to pass, as well as the sale of shares to members acting on committees, and advocating the measures, are so shaped as to be in reality bribes or premiums given for services thus

rendered. Add to this, that the whole system of our political and municipal election, in the older cities and boroughs, is one of the grossest bribery and corruption throughout; and we shall not be entitled to hold up the American State-legislatures to odium for this practice of "lobbying," without coupling England in the same sentence of condemnation for her bribery and corruption on a much larger scale. To this joint sentence of reprobation for both, I most willingly consent, as what is wrong in the one cannot possibly be right in the other.

After passing a most agreeable fortnight at Mr. Delavan's, his family accompanied us in our visit to Saratoga Springs, for which we set out on Saturday, the 28th of July. On our way we passed through Ballston Spa, a pretty village seated in a valley, with picturesque irregularity of hill and dale, and watered by a river with the fine sonorous Indian name of Kyaderosseras. Like Saratoga, Ballston is celebrated for its mineral springs, and was once much frequented by invalids and people of fashion in the season. But it has of late been deserted for Saratoga; for as not more than a tenth of the visitors to either, need any mineral waters, but come chiefly for recreation and amusement, they follow the stream of fashion, and where the greatest number at any time congregate, there the majority of visitors flock after them, till the one place absorbs the whole, and leaves the other deserted.

Ballston is an incorporated village, under a board of trustees, elected annually by the inhabitants, who are about 1,200 in number. The court-

house for the county of Saratoga is also here ; and there are three churches, several large hotels, and a weekly newspaper published in the village. There are several springs ; the principal of which are the original Ballston Spa, the Washington spring, the Sans Souci spring, Louis spring, and the Park spring. The waters of all these do not differ much from each other, their principal ingredients being muriate of soda, carbonate of soda, carbonate of lime, carbonate of magnesia, and carbonate of iron. The two principal hotels will accommodate about 400 persons, and there are many private boarding-houses for



invalids. The environs of Ballston furnish many agreeable rides, and the river Kyaderosseras affords excellent fishing for trout.

From Ballston to Saratoga springs, is a distance of about seven miles, through a generally level country, with the second growth of wood thickly bordering the sandy roads, but with occasional fine views of the hills and mountains in the distance.

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## CHAP. XXIII.

Arrival and stay at Saratoga springs—History of the first settlement of the spot—Conveyance of lands by Indian chiefs—Progressive increase of the settlement—Origin of the popularity of the springs—Building of the principal hotels—Situation and appearance of Saratoga—Characteristics of the principal houses—Interesting spots in the environs—Chemical analysis of the waters—Chief attraction to visitors at Saratoga—Great variety of character for observation—Elegance of the men and beauty of the women—Deficiency of females in expression and passion—Difference of youth and age in the men—American authority for degeneracy of manners—Freedom of intercourse with the young of both sexes—Routine of a day at Saratoga—Order and succession of meals and intervals—American sketch of the American character—Evening amusements—Hops, balls, and concerts—Specimen of two American “popular discourses”—Imitations of the “Diary of a Physician”—Discourse on the nursery tale of “Cock Robin”—General opinions expressed on this performance.

WE arrived at Saratoga about one o'clock, and having previously engaged apartments at the Union Hall, we soon found ourselves amidst the bustle of a large party of more than 200 persons, promenading the drawing-rooms and piazzas of the hotel, waiting for the approaching hour of dinner, which was two o'clock ; and taking our seats at the table, we were soon recognized by many whom we had met in different parts of the Union, and found ourselves more at home than we had anticipated.

We remained at Saratoga about ten days, and during that period, the weather being fine, though very warm, we made visits to each of the large hotels



besides our own, having friends and acquaintances at each ; we saw all the variety of entertainments which here, as at most watering-places, form the chief business of life with those who frequent them, and we made some pleasant excursions in the neighbourhood ; so that we were enabled to form a tolerably fair estimate of the place and its visitors ; and as it is in many respects singular, and unlike any other rendezvous of fashion in the United States, some account of it may be acceptable.

The first settlement of the whites in the spot where Saratoga now stands, arose out of a grant of lands made here by two Indian chiefs of the Mohawk tribe, to David Schuyler and Robert Livingston, both of Albany, the grant bearing date the 12th of August 1702, being the first year of the reign of Queen Anne. The Indian name for the spot was then Sah-rah-ka, or the "side of the hill," which correctly enough indicates its position. This was converted by the settlers into Sar-ogh-to-ge, and afterwards to Sor-oc-to-ga, from whence the transition was very slight to Saratoga, the name it now bears. The conveyance was legally made "for and in consideration of divers goods," and a few years afterwards the whole tract was reconveyed to other purchasers for "the sum of 90*l*. in full satisfaction for all that tract of land situated, lying, and being in the county of Albany, called Kyaderosseras, *alias* Queensborough."

The first settlement was not effected till 1715, and from that period till 1747 little is known of its history ; but it was then the subject of a hostile attack on the part of the Indians, when the small town was burnt and about thirty families massacred.

In 1755, a fort was commenced called Fort Edward, from whence a road was cut to Lake George, north of it about 30 miles, where Fort William Henry was erected; and in 1759, General Amherst having passed up the Hudson, and by this lake to Canada, put the country into such a state of security as to induce a great increase of settlers, especially along the banks of the Hudson and the Mohawk rivers; while the hunters among the Indian tribes resorted to this spot as a favourite watering-place, the abundance of the springs all along the valley occasioning it to be much frequented by deer and other game.

The following is related as the circumstance which first gave celebrity to the waters of Saratoga. Sir William Johnson, a general of the British army, who had been wounded in the defence of Fort William Henry, had been permitted to retire from the army, and to reside at Johnstown, a place westward of Saratoga about 30 miles, as agent for the Indians. Being much indisposed, and being a great favourite with the Indians, they persuaded him to make a journey to the Springs; to which he assented, and he was borne on a litter carried by the Indians for the greater part of the way. He remained here several days, being supplied with game by the hunters of the friendly tribe; all of them drinking largely of the only mineral spring then open, called High Rock Spring, till they became so fond of the water as to use it to excess for mere enjoyment. In the end, Sir William was so entirely recovered from his illness, that he was strong enough to walk all the way home (a distance of 30 miles) on foot;

and the fame of this cure spread so rapidly through the country, that from this period the springs grew into greater celebrity every year.

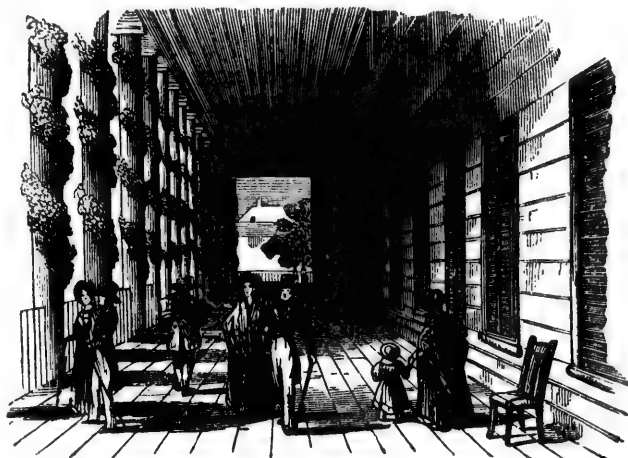
It was in 1792, that the second spring was discovered by Mr. John Taylor Gilman, of New Hampshire, subsequently a governor of that State, and at that time a member of Congress. It was this which caused it to be called the "Congress Spring;" and of this there is fifty times the quantity drank that there is of any other.

In 1800 the first large hotel was built, under the name of Union Hall. In 1812, this was followed by a still larger house, called the Congress Hall. In 1819, the Pavilion, another large hotel was erected, and lastly in 1824, the United States Hotel, larger and more commodious than of any of its predecessors, was opened. In 1827, the village was incorporated by an act of the legislature, and it then contained about 300 dwelling-houses and two thousand inhabitants, with five places of public worship, since which it has been constantly on the increase.

The situation of the village is pretty—lying generally in a valley, but with sufficient undulation of surface in and near it, to make it very picturesque, and the views it presents from the neighbouring hills are varied and agreeable. Like most of the American villages we had yet seen, the main street is of great breadth—140 feet at least, and the length of it is about a mile. The shops and private dwellings are small, while the large hotels look the larger by the contrast.

Of these hotels the Congress Hall is frequented by the most fashionable classes, those who pride

themselves on their birth, connexion, and breeding, rather than their wealth; and this is consequently



the aristocratic or whig house, in which conservative doctrines in politics and religion are most current and most acceptable. The United States Hotel is more frequented by the rich mercantile classes, whose wealth makes their importance equal in degree, though differing in its source, to that of the more "ancient families;" and this is the democratic house. The Union Hall is frequented chiefly by the clergy, and religious families, by judges, professors, and grave and elderly people generally; and this is called the religious house. The Pavilion is more miscellaneous in its company, and is occupied more by persons who make a short stay, than by those who remain for any length of time; and this is called the travellers' house. The largest of these will accommo-

date 300 persons, and the smallest will accomodate 200 ; besides these, there are smaller hotels and private boarding-houses ; and in the whole of them there was estimated to be at least 3,000 strangers, the village having at present more company than on any former occasion that can be remembered.

The environs furnish many agreeable excursions, at distances varying from four miles to forty. The nearest is Saratoga Lake, a beautiful piece of water, about nine miles long and two in average breadth, resembling, in its character, the softer scenery of the lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland, especially the lake of Windermere. The battle-ground of General Burgoyne's defeat and surrender, is within a ride of two hours, and forms a point of great interest with all American patriots. The Falls of the Hudson, of which there are three—Baker's Falls, Glen's Falls, and Hadley's Falls—are all within twenty miles of Saratoga. Lake George is about thirty miles, and the richness of the landscape-views which it presents, the transparent clearness of the water, and the excellent sport of fishing with which it abounds, tend to make this the favourite excursion.

The waters of Saratoga, of which there are now half a dozen separate springs open, possess nearly the same properties or qualities, being of the class called "acidulous saline chalybeate," from having carbonic acid gas, salt, and iron, in them all, varying only in the proportions of the different substances which each spring contains. The Congress water, being the most acidulous and saline, is drank most copiously, and exported most largely from hence to every part of the Union in bottles. It resembles, in its

taste the Seidlitz and Seltzer waters of Germany; and, if drank at the spring itself, has all the briskness of soda-water.

From day-light, therefore, until seven o'clock in the morning, the well or fountain, which is enclosed beneath a roof supported by a colonnade of fluted wooden pillars, is crowded with drinkers, and some are said to take the number of twenty tumblers of the water before breakfast. A circular railway, by which two persons can propel themselves round a circle of about one hundred yards' diameter, in an easy chair, is judiciously provided within the distance of a short walk from the spring, and the more active among the drinkers repair to it for exercise, to aid the effect of the waters. During the day, the more chalybeate qualities of Hamilton and Flat Rock springs are taken; but the general impression here is, that every body drinks the waters to excess, and that quite as many persons are injured as benefited, from this misuse and misapplication of them.

The Congress water is used in making bread here, serving the purpose of yeast; and the bread made from it is peculiarly light and agreeable. The respiration of all breathing creatures is remarkably affected by their being placed in contact with the gas which issues from the surface of the water at the well. This gas is, indeed, fatal to animals when immersed in it; and even fishes and frogs, though aquatic in their nature, live but a short period after being placed in the water. The temperature of the spring is so little affected by that of the external atmosphere, that water drawn up from the well when the thermometer stood at 14° below zero, in

the open air, was found to be 50° of temperature above zero ; and when the same experiment was tried with the thermometer, at 90° the water still stood at 50° as before. The specific gravity of the water at the temperature of 60°, the barometer ranging at 29.5, is 1009.7, the pure water being 1000 ; and for the space of 20 years, during which repeated experiments have been made, this specific gravity has not varied more than one-fifth of a grain.

Dr. Steel, by whom these experiments were tried, and whose analysis of the waters, made during a 20 years' residence at Saratoga, is regarded as the best authority, infers, from repeated examinations, that the spring has its source at a great depth in the earth, because it is so little affected by atmospheric temperature, either of heat or cold, moisture or dryness ; and also that it retains all its original medicinal properties, from its undergoing no change in its specific gravity. It is found to contain carbonic acid, soda, iron, lime, magnesia, muriatic acid, potassa, bromine, and iodine.

These are all retained in the water for exportation, by the process of letting down an empty glass bottle, through a square tube which forms the aperture to the fountain, and, the moment it is drawn up, discharging a sufficient quantity of the water to cork it well, which is done instantly on the spot. In this state it is sent to all the large cities of the Union ; and few ships leave the American ports without having a supply of Congress water among their cabin stores, it being everywhere acceptable as a refreshing and agreeable beverage, even when its medicinal properties are not valued or required, and never being injurious unless taken to great excess.



After all, however, the chief attraction of Saratoga to visitors, is neither the mineral waters nor the salubrious climate, as these are mere excuses for the journey to nine-tenths of the comers; but the great charm to the vast majority is the gay and ever-changing company that is found here from all parts of the Union, and especially of the opulent classes, into which it is the constant aim and desire of those who are not opulent to get admitted. Hundreds who in their own towns could not find admission into the circles of fashionable society there—for the rich and leading families of America are quite as exclusive in their coteries as the aristocracy of England—come to Saratoga, where, at Congress Hall or the United States, by the moderate payment of two dollars a day, they may be seated at the same table, and often side by side, with the first families of the country; promenade in the same piazza, lounge on the sofas in the same drawing-room, and dance in the same quadrille with the most fashionable beaux and belles of the land: and thus, for the week or month they may stay at Saratoga, they enjoy all the advantages which their position would make inaccessible to them at home.

On the whole, perhaps, Saratoga affords the best opportunity that a stranger can enjoy for seeing American society on the largest scale, and embracing the greatest variety of classes at the same time; for, except the small shopkeeper and mere labourer, every other class has its representatives here. The rich merchants from New Orleans, and the wealthy planter from Arkansas, Alabama, and Tennessee, with the more haughty and more polished landowner from Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia; the successful speculator

in real estate from Kentucky, Ohio, Missouri, and Michigan: the rich capitalist from Boston and New York, the grave Quaker from Providence and Philadelphia, the official functionary from Washington, and the learned professor from New Haven, Cambridge, and Hartford, all mingle together in strange variety, and present such strikingly different yet truly characteristic features, that the whole Union is thus brought before the eye of the stranger at one view, and he has ample field for observation of their several representatives.

Speaking in general terms, my own impression was, that in the company at Congress Hall especially, there were quite as many elegant men, and a great many more beautiful women, than is usually seen among a similar number of persons assembled in any public room at Brighton, Cheltenham, or Bath. Those from the South bore away the palm of superiority in beauty and manners, there being an ease, a grace, and an elegance or polish about the Southerners, whether ladies or gentlemen, which those of the North, as far as my observation has yet extended, do not attain. The women are incomparably more beautiful; and we saw here some from Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, especially from Charleston, Norfolk, and Baltimore, that would grace any court in Europe; while from Philadelphia and New York there were also some lovely countenances, especially among the young.

My opinion indeed was here strongly confirmed, that there is no country in Europe, in which there are so many beautiful faces among the women as in this; the symmetry of their features, the contrast between the marbly whiteness of their com-

plexion, and their dark eyes and hair, small mouths, and beautifully white and regular teeth, are the chief traits of their beauty. But, on the other hand, they want the full developement of figure and bust, as well as the rosy complexion and coral lips, of the healthy English beauty; and are still more deficient in that gaiety and animation, which a brilliant female countenance so often expresses, in the look of intelligence, and glow of feeling and sentiment, which accompany the utterance of a well-educated and well-bred woman at home.

The American ladies did not appear to me to evince the same passionate admiration, which is constantly witnessed among English females, for the pursuit or object in which they were engaged. Neither painting, sculpture, poetry, or music, neither the higher topics of intellectual conversation, nor the lighter beauties of the belles lettres, seem to move them from the general apathy and indifference, or coldness of temperament, which is their most remarkable defect. In England, Scotland, and Ireland, in Germany, France, and Italy, and even in Spain and Portugal, well-educated women evince an enthusiasm, and express, because they feel, a passionate delight in speaking of works of art which they may have seen, of literary productions which they may have read, or of poetry or music which they may have heard; and the sympathy which they thus kindle in the minds of others, only seems to increase the fervour and intensity of their own. Among the American ladies, of the best education, I have never yet witnessed anything approaching to this; and as it is not deficiency of information, for most of them possess a wider circle

of knowledge, in whatever is taught at school, than ladies do with us, it must be a deficiency of taste and feeling.

Whether this is the result of climate and physical temperament, as some suppose, or the mere influence of cold manners, as others imagine, I cannot determine; though I am inclined to adopt the former supposition, because the same phlegmatic temperament is evinced in the progress of that which, if women have any passion at all, however deep-seated it may be, will assuredly bring it out—I mean, the progress of their attachments, or loves; for I have neither heard or seen any evidence of that all-absorbing and romantic feeling, by which this passion is accompanied in its developement, in all the countries I have named; and although probably the American women make the most faithful wives, and most correct members of society, that any nation or community can furnish, I do not think they love with the same intensity as the women of Europe, or would be ready to make such sacrifices of personal consideration, in rank, fortune, or conveniences of life, for the sake of obtaining the object of their affections, as women readily and perpetually do with us.

Whether this is an advantage or a disadvantage, I will not undertake to say, but of the fact I have no doubt; and to the same causes, the coldness of temperament, I attribute the absence of all enthusiasm among them in regard to literature and the arts, which they cultivate as a matter of duty, and not from ardent admiration or love of the pursuit; and in which, for this very reason, they rarely or

ever arise above mediocrity in their knowledge or practice of them.

Of the men in the fashionable circles of society here, the difference between the old and the young is very striking. The old men, from the south, and from Carolina and Virginia especially, are what would be called perfect gentlemen of the old school with us,—precise, yet elegant in their dress—courteous and affable in their manners—high-toned in their politics and taste—lax in their morality, while fashion sanctions their conduct—warm in their attachments—fierce in their resentments—and punctilious in all points of honour and etiquette. The remains of the feudal system in Virginia, where the laws of entail existed, and where large estates descended hereditarily from father to elder son, sustained this state of manners and feeling; and Virginia is still called “The Old Dominion,” as if to preserve the recollection of its ancient condition as a colony of the British crown.

The younger men among the fashionables are almost all copyists of the dress, style, and manners of the “young men about town,” as they are called in London, and are chiefly remarkable for foppery of dress, and the assumption of beards, mustachios, and other exotic fashions, as if they were either foreigners themselves, or had travelled so long on the continent of Europe, as to bear about them the marks of their sojourn at Rome, Naples, and Paris. Their manners, too, like those of our “young men about town,” are rather familiar than elegant, and more remarkable for *brusquerie* and *nonchalance*, than for courtesy or refinement.

The inferiority of the young to the old among the men in high life is as great in their conversation as in their manners ; and greater even than the difference of their ages would justify. Even Mr. Cooper, a writer of their own nation, has remarked upon this degeneracy or decline, and all I have seen fully justifies his remarks. He says,

“ There is no doubt that, in general, America has retrograded in manners within the last thirty years. Boys, and even men, wear their hats in the houses of all classes, and before persons of all ages and conditions. This is not independence, but vulgarity ; for nothing sooner distinguishes a gentleman from a blackguard than the habitual attention of the former to the minor civilities established by custom. It has been truly said, that the man who is well dressed respects himself more, and behaves himself better, than the man that is ill dressed ; but it is still more true that the man who commences with a strict observance of the commoner civilities, will be the most apt to admit of the influence of refinement on his whole character.

“ The defects in American deportment are, notwithstanding, numerous and palpable. Among the first, may be ranked insubordination in children, and a general want of respect for age. The former vice may be ascribed to the business-habits of the country, which leave so little time for parental instruction, and perhaps in some degree, to the arts of political agents, who, with their own advantage in view, among the other expedients of their cunning, have resorted to the artifice of separating children from their natural advisers, by calling meetings of the young, to decide on the fortunes and policy of the country. Every advertisement calling assemblies of the young to deliberate on national concerns, ought to be deemed an insult to the good sense, the modesty, and the filial piety of the class to which it is addressed.”

The young, indeed, of both sexes carry on matters just as they please, the young women reigning supreme in parties of pleasure, as the young men do in deciding on political affairs ; so that the old seem

either to be laid on the shelf altogether, or only brought upon the stage to look on, bestow their approbation, and pay the expense. Here at Saratoga, in all the parties we visited, whether balls, concerts, or promenades, the married ladies were seemingly only valued as persons necessary to give countenance to the assembling of the young ; while these usurped all authority and influence, and monopolized the exclusive attention of the men.

It has been thought by many, that the excessive confidence reposed in the young, and the liberty they are permitted to enjoy in being so frequently alone together, is more favourable to the virtue of both, than if they were under more restraint. This may be true to a certain extent ; but I should myself be disposed to attribute the absence of danger much more to the coldness of temperament of which I have before spoken, than to any other cause ; but after making every allowance for the operation of both, I cannot but think that the gay season at Saratoga is a very unfavourable preparation for the discharge of those social and domestic duties which all are sooner or later called upon to discharge.

Take the general routine of a day at the Springs, as an example. All rise between 6 and 7 o'clock ; and at half past 7, the drawing-room of each of the larger hotels is filled with from 200 to 300 persons promenading till the folding doors are thrown open for admission to the dining-hall, when this large number seat themselves at breakfast. The meal is generally a substantial one, a variety of dishes being placed on the table ; and few persons breakfasting without partaking of some description of animal



food : but the rapidity with which it is despatched, is its most remarkable feature, the longest time taken by the slowest being never more than 15 minutes, some of the quickest getting through the meal in 5 minutes, and the average number occupying about 10.

In the busy cities, the reason assigned for this haste is the keen pursuit of business, and the eager desire to get to the counting-house or store ; but here, with the entire day before them, and nothing whatever to do, they eat with just the same haste as at other places. The contest for the dishes is a perfect scramble ; the noise and clatter of the waiters and their wares is absolutely deafening ; no one gets precisely what he wants, though every one is searching after something. The quiet elegance of an English breakfast, is as great a contrast to the noisy rudeness of an American meal, as can well be conceived, even when both are taken in public hotels like these. Elegance of manners in such a scene as this is quite out of the question. People eat as if they were afraid that their plates were about to be snatched from them before they had done ; mastication may be said to be almost entirely omitted ; and in nine cases out of ten, persons do not remain in their chairs to finish the meal, short as it is, but rise with the last mouthful still unswallowed, and dispose of it gradually as they walk along.

The period between breakfast at 8 o'clock and dinner at 2, is occupied by the more active in excursions to the surrounding points of attraction, on horseback or in carriages : but the greater number remain at home ; and the drawing-room is then the

general lounge, where groups of the young are formed, who sit for hours engaged in the merest gossip of trifling talk, for it hardly deserves the name of conversation; and neither books, music, nor drawing occupy any portion of the time.

Dressing for dinner fills up a vacant hour; at one, and at half-past one, the drawing-room is again crowded with the promenading parties waiting for the opening of the folding doors to admit them to dinner. The hurry and bustle of the breakfast scene is again repeated, with little of table enjoyment, to reconcile the parties to the heat and noise of the room. The fare is what in England would be called coarse and bad—the dishes few in number, and wretchedly cooked, besides being all lukewarm; and the miserable sprinkling of bad vegetables, being almost as cold as if they had been dressed on the preceding day—no covers for the dishes, or warm plates for the guests—no appointed carvers—an insufficiency of attendants—and altogether an ill-managed and an ill-enjoyed dinner. The escape from this is almost as rapid as from the breakfast, and 15 minutes may be regarded as the average time occupied in it; though a few may sit perhaps from 20 to 25 minutes, but none for half an hour.

The afternoon is literally whiled away between the drawing-room and the sleeping-room; or in the spacious and shady piazzas or verandas, in one of which fronting the garden at the back of the house, the gentlemen retire to smoke their segars; and in the other, in front of the house, ladies and gentlemen, not otherwise occupied, mingle in the promenade. In all the great houses, everything is sacrificed to

appearance. The piazzas are of splendid dimensions, 200 feet by 20, and 50 feet high, supported by lofty pillars, entwined with spiral wreaths of foliage—the dining halls capable of seating 400 persons—the drawing-rooms, especially that of the United States, of magnificent dimensions, and handsomely furnished : but the bed-rooms are generally exceedingly small, those of Congress Hall especially, scantily provided, and altogether inferior to what the scale and style of the house, in other respects, would warrant the visitor to expect.

The third meal, of tea, is taken at seven o'clock, and is, in short, a supper, as meats of various kinds are placed on the table, which is covered with a table-cloth, as at dinner, and at which the 200 or 300 visitors seat themselves in the same way. This is got through with the same rapidity as the two preceding ones ; no fatigue during the day, or any other consideration, inducing persons to relax in the least from the hurry with which everything is done in this country, a feature that is thus expressed by an American writer in one of their public journals:—

“ THE AMERICAN CHARACTER.—We are born in a hurry (says an American writer) ; we are educated at speed. We make a fortune with the wave of a wand, and lose it in like manner—to re-make and re-lose it in the twinkling of an eye. Our body is a locomotive, travelling at the rate of ten leagues an hour ; our spirit is a high-pressure engine ; our life resembles a shooting star ; and death surprises us like an electric shock.”

The evenings are more varied than the day, as there is sometimes a ball, and sometimes a “ hop,” as it is termed here, the difference being, that at the former a full-dress is expected, at the latter the ordi-

nary dinner-dress will suffice; occasionally there is a concert, sometimes a display of ventriloquism, now and then a farce by a company of strolling players, and this again varied by a conjuror with tricks of legerdemain. It is in this vein of the trifling and the ridiculous that the taste is said to run at all times here, and certainly during our short stay it was made pretty manifest by the crowded audience of the most fashionable of the visitors at the United States and the Congress Hall, to hear a Dr. Irving, from South Carolina, deliver what were called two "popular discourses."

The first of them was one of the most empty rhodomontades that it was ever my fate to listen to, being an attempted imitation of "Passages from the Diary of Physician," originally published in Blackwood's Magazine, narrating real occurrences in the families of patients in South Carolina, and giving expression to the most licentious principles and feelings, in affected descriptions of love-scenes between the young assistant surgeon, who had to attend the parents in his medical capacity, and the daughter of his patients, so offensive, that though it was patiently listened to by some, many rose and left the room before it was ended, and nearly all whom I heard express an opinion on the subject, condemned it in no measured terms. This he called his "Penseroso," and at the close of it he announced that as this appeared to give such general satisfaction, he should try his hand at an "Allegro," the subject of which would shortly be made public.

Accordingly, on the next morning a handbill appeared, of which the following is a copy.

"A CARD.—Dr. Irving, encouraged by the flattering attention bestowed upon his first lecture, respectfully announces his intention to deliver, on Thursday evening, August 2, in the Saloon of Congress Hall, commencing at half-past eight, a satirical review of the nursery ballad of 'Little Cock Robin;' considered as a great modern Epic, after the most approved mode of reviewing works in general, and poems in particular.

'All the birds fell  
To sighing and sobbing,  
When they heard tell  
Of the death of Cock Robin.'

"Admittance 50 cents. Tickets may be procured at the principal hotels and at the reading rooms."

I attended this, to see what would be the character of the audience, what the reception of the speaker and what the impression made by his discourse. I hardly expecting there would be many present, as I thought the native Americans would rather be disposed to resent such an affront to their taste and understanding than to patronize it by a very large attendance. In this, however, I was mistaken, for there were certainly not less than 500 persons present; and those of the first style of fashion, from the two principal hotels, including old and young; and about an equal number of both sexes, including grave and venerable gentlemen of 70, and matronly ladies of 60, with all the beaux and belles between 15 and 20.

The speaker was received in silence, as it is not usual for an audience to applaud, except at the theatres and political meetings. As he proceeded to develop his subject, which was a tissue of the most absurd and puerile conceits, and abortive attempts at wit and humour, that I ever remember to have witnessed, there was a great variety in the

expressions of the auditors' countenances. Some endeavoured to force a smile, as if to show that they had sagacity enough to perceive the wit intended: some looked more ashamed for themselves at being present, than for the speaker as an orator of their own country; but the great majority were evidently uncomfortable at their present position, sorry that they had got into it, but wanting courage enough to rise and go out, though some did this before the discourse was half over.

As the former narrative, of the loves of a young physician and his patient's daughter, was thickly interspersed with pictures bordering on the lascivious—at which I do not think a female audience would have sat still for many minutes in England; so this second discourse was interlarded with the most fulsome appeals to the beauty and tenderness of the young ladies, as the “loves of society,” and the gallantry and devotedness of the young men as the “cock-robins and sparrows of the community,” in a strain that was at once insulting to the understanding, as it was offensive to all minds of delicacy or good taste. Nevertheless, by a large number of the audience, the speaker was applauded to the echo, at which the old looked abashed, and the middle-aged embarrassed: yet for a long hour and half was this most insufferable tediousness bestowed upon the audience, and their indulgent forbearance coolly taken by the speaker as a proof of their very flattering approbation of his critical and oratorical labours.

On retiring to the drawing-room, I had an opportunity of hearing directly, and overhearing indirectly, in the crowded promenade, in which all

joined, a number of opinions delivered on this literary performance. Some expressed their unqualified disgust, and thought this feeling ought to have been evinced in some public manner ; but these were very few ; the greater number admitted that it was the most arrant nonsense they had ever heard ; but thought that it was not patriotic to run it down, since, after all, it was the performance of a native American ; and some who had noticed my being present, and who supposed it probable that I should give to the world some account of my travels in America, expressed a hope that I should not mention anything so discreditable to the taste of an American audience, in my Journal.



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## CHAP. XXIV.

Sensitiveness of Americans to foreign censure—Opinion of Mr. Latrobe on American character—Evil effects produced by hotel and boarding house life—Too early introduction of the young to public society—Effects on the taste and manners of the more advanced—Disadvantages to married and elderly persons—No return for this in improved health or vigour—Equal applicability of this to English watering-places—Suggestion of a better mode of making summer excursions—Beneficial effects which would flow from its adoption—Deaths of two inmates of the house at Saratoga—Impressive solemnity of a Quaker funeral—Address of an elder or patriarch of the society—Affecting prayer of the mother of the deceased—Effect produced on the whole assembly—Contrast with more gorgeous funerals—Quakers universally friendly to abolition—Many of the American clergy apologists for slavery—Prejudices on republicanism and on monarchy—Opinion of Mr. Cooper, the American, on slavery—Fallacies of the arguments used on this subject—Public meeting at Saratoga on education—Public meeting at Ballston on temperance—Comparison between English and American farmers—Differences in the appearance of the females.

ONE of the most striking features of the American character, is the extreme sensitiveness of all classes to the opinions of foreigners; and it is only to the fact of their being the opinions of foreigners, that they object; for the same censures, coming from one of their own nation, are scarcely heeded. The North, for instance, will abuse the South in unmeasured terms, both in their public journals and at public meetings, as a set of unprincipled, licentious, reckless slaveholders, sharpers, and gamblers, combined. The South will return the compliment, by calling the

men of the North a set of cold, selfish, calculating, canting hypocrites, desiring to pursue their schemes of pretended philanthropy at the expense of their fellow-citizens, committing acts of fraud and over-reaching during the week, and wiping it off with sanctimonious faces and long prayers on Sundays. The democratic party will accuse its political opponents of being tyrants, oppressors, and blood-suckers, preying on the vitals of the nation, holding the power of the banks, to make themselves a monied aristocracy, and traitors to the liberties of the people. The aristocratic party, here called the Whigs, will denounce the democrats as agrarians, levellers, incendiaries, and plunderers, who desire to seize the property of the rich, and divide it among themselves; and whose designs are fraught with the utmost danger to property, morality, and religion.

It may be doubted, whether either of these parties themselves believe what they say of their opponents. It is hardly possible that they should not know that it is not true. But it serves, or is supposed to serve, the interests of the respective parties so to denounce and vilify each other, that if a collection could be made of all that the American speakers and writers say of all parts and sections of their own country in turn, it might be pronounced, upon their own respective authorities, to be worse than Sodom and Gomorrah in the very height of their wickedness. While this warfare against each other still goes on, however, let but an English traveller venture to express an opinion of the inferiority of the American people to his own countrymen, in any the most trifling particular, whether in beauty or

healthiness of appearance, dress, manners, accomplishments, taste, or any other quality, and every one will be up in arms against him. This is not because the observations are unjust, for they could not be so deemed by those who say much worse things of each other; but because they are uttered by a foreigner, who is guilty, according to their notions, of an unfit return for the hospitalities he may have received, in speaking even the truth of them, if it does not place them in the most favourable point of view possible.

Among the more sensible and more liberal of the Americans, there are many who think that it is highly advantageous to the nation at large to have its defects pointed out by those who can discern them; for many things are perceptible to the foreign eye, which, from habitual familiarity, escape the native vision; and hence the wise wish of Burns,

"Oh! that the gods the gift would gi' us  
To see ourselves as others see us."

I have already quoted the observations of Mr. Nicholas Biddle, of Philadelphia, in his address to the Alumni of Princeton College on this subject; and I subjoin some very just remarks, to the same purpose, from a judicious and impartial observer, Mr. Latrobe, who says,

"Well may the foreigner be surprised at the utter perversity and sensitiveness of mind of by far the greater majority of Americans, of whatever class, in taking to heart, and bitterly resenting, any chance remarks upon the men and manners of a given district, when perhaps not exactly of a laudatory description, thus making the quarrel of one division of the community, the quarrel of all. In this respect, there is doubtless a characteristic nationality of feeling. To see a gentleman of Boston or Baltimore, resenting, by word or deed, the sketch published to the world, of the society of a district of the West, borders on the ludicrous; the more

so as, if untravelled, they are frequently as ignorant of the state of things there, as a stay-at-home Englishman might be supposed to be. It impresses one with the idea, that the inhabitants of the United States—little mercy as they show each other in their stormy political contests, little measure as they hold in their terms of satire and obloquy, defamation, and abuse of parties and individuals, in their public prints—are sensitive, as a people, beyond example, to criticism from without, and more particularly so when the observation comes from an inhabitant of Britain. This weakness almost amounts to a national disease.”

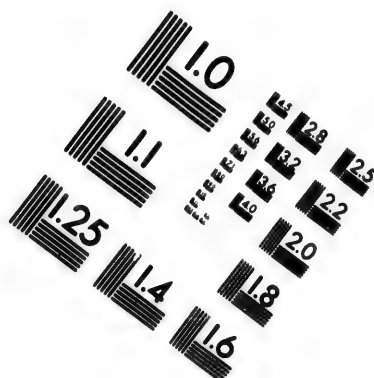
If these pages shall be read by any friends of mine in America, from whom I have received the kind and friendly attentions for which I freely acknowledge myself their debtor, I shall be blamed perhaps by them for saying, what I nevertheless think to be true, that the habit of living at public hotels and boarding-houses, and being crowded together in large and ill-assorted assemblages, is highly detrimental to the formation of character in the young, and far more calculated to vulgarize and corrupt the taste than to refine it.

This mode of life introduces the young of both sexes much too early into public life, and under circumstances of the greatest disadvantage. Young children of six and seven years of age are here seen at concerts, balls, and “hops,” at hours when they should be in bed; and passing the day in the most frivolous amusements, playing at chequers or backgammon, coquetting and flirting in the gardens, eating and drinking of everything at table, however great the variety, without a single restraint on the full indulgence of their wills, and with no useful or instructive occupation or pursuit for weeks in succession.

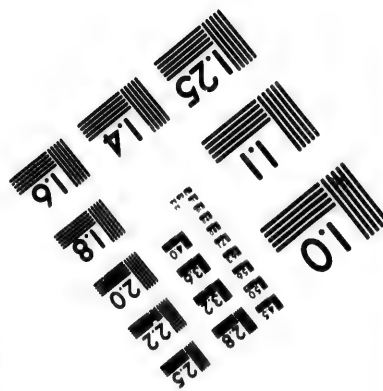
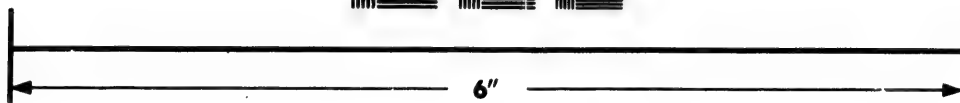
On those of riper age, the young men and girls of fifteen to eighteen, the effect of such a desultory life must be equally injurious. Accustomed thus early to a round of flatteries and pleasures, they imbibe a distaste for steady and persevering application to anything, and acquire a fondness for excitement, and a taste for frivolity and gaiety, which makes home dull and gloomy after the dissipation of the hotel; while during the remainder of the year they long for the return of the period when they may be released from the monotonous round of mere social enjoyments, to plunge again into the more exciting pleasures of Ballston, Saratoga, or the Virginia Springs.

Even on the married and more elderly people who make these annual visits, and often prolong them by alternations of journeying and halting, the effect is far from beneficial. It relaxes the wholesome authority of parents over children, and makes the bond of filial respect and obedience grow continually weaker and weaker; because, on such excursions, a hundred things must be permitted or overlooked, and suffered to pass by with impunity, which would not be sanctioned at home. The means of discipline are absent, and the end is, therefore, for a while lost sight of or suspended. Indulgences of all kinds, in food, dress, and entertainment, are granted, because they cannot without much greater trouble be withheld. Consecutive reading, of any description, is thought to be impracticable, and nothing but scraps or fragments of the lightest and most worthless kind are ever suffered to occupy their minds; industrious application to anything is thought to be out of place; habits of listlessness and idleness are contracted; and the





A resolution test chart featuring various patterns of horizontal and vertical lines of increasing frequency. Each pattern is accompanied by a numerical value indicating its resolution. The values include 1.0, 1.1, 1.25, 1.4, 1.6, 1.8, 2.0, 2.2, 2.5, 2.8, 3.2, 3.6, 4.0, 4.5, 5.0, 5.6, 6.3, 7.1, 8.0, 9.0, 10, 11.2, 12.5, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22.5, 25, 28, 32, 36, 40, 45, 50, 56, 63, 71, 80, 90, 100, 112, 125, 140, 160, 180, 200, 225, 250, 280, 320, 360, 400, 450, 500, 560, 630, 710, 800, 900, 1000, 1120, 1250, 1400, 1600, 1800, 2000, 2250, 2500, 2800, 3200, 3600, 4000, 4500, 5000, 5600, 6300, 7100, 8000, 9000, 10000, 11200, 12500, 14000, 16000, 18000, 20000, 22500, 25000, 28000, 32000, 36000, 40000, 45000, 50000, 56000, 63000, 71000, 80000, 90000, 100000, 112000, 125000, 140000, 160000, 180000, 200000, 225000, 250000, 280000, 320000, 360000, 400000, 450000, 500000, 560000, 630000, 710000, 800000, 900000, 1000000, 1120000, 1250000, 1400000, 1600000, 1800000, 2000000, 2250000, 2500000, 2800000, 3200000, 3600000, 4000000, 4500000, 5000000, 5600000, 6300000, 7100000, 8000000, 9000000, 10000000, 11200000, 12500000, 14000000, 16000000, 18000000, 20000000, 22500000, 25000000, 28000000, 32000000, 36000000, 40000000, 45000000, 50000000, 56000000, 63000000, 71000000, 80000000, 90000000, 100000000, 112000000, 125000000, 140000000, 160000000, 180000000, 200000000, 225000000, 250000000, 280000000, 320000000, 360000000, 400000000, 450000000, 500000000, 560000000, 630000000, 710000000, 800000000, 900000000, 1000000000, 1120000000, 1250000000, 1400000000, 1600000000, 1800000000, 2000000000, 2250000000, 2500000000, 2800000000, 3200000000, 3600000000, 4000000000, 4500000000, 5000000000, 5600000000, 6300000000, 7100000000, 8000000000, 9000000000, 10000000000, 11200000000, 12500000000, 14000000000, 16000000000, 18000000000, 20000000000, 22500000000, 25000000000, 28000000000, 32000000000, 36000000000, 40000000000, 45000000000, 50000000000, 56000000000, 63000000000, 71000000000, 80000000000, 90000000000, 100000000000, 112000000000, 125000000000, 140000000000, 160000000000, 180000000000, 200000000000, 225000000000, 250000000000, 280000000000, 320000000000, 360000000000, 400000000000, 450000000000, 500000000000, 560000000000, 630000000000, 710000000000, 800000000000, 900000000000, 1000000000000, 1120000000000, 1250000000000, 1400000000000, 1600000000000, 1800000000000, 2000000000000, 2250000000000, 2500000000000, 2800000000000, 3200000000000, 3600000000000, 4000000000000, 4500000000000, 5000000000000, 5600000000000, 6300000000000, 7100000000000, 8000000000000, 9000000000000, 10000000000000, 11200000000000, 12500000000000, 14000000000000, 16000000000000, 18000000000000, 20000000000000, 22500000000000, 25000000000000, 28000000000000, 32000000000000, 36000000000000, 40000000000000, 45000000000000, 50000000000000, 56000000000000, 63000000000000, 71000000000000, 80000000000000, 90000000000000, 100000000000000, 112000000000000, 125000000000000, 140000000000000, 160000000000000, 180000000000000, 200000000000000, 225000000000000, 250000000000000, 280000000000000, 320000000000000, 360000000000000, 400000000000000, 450000000000000, 500000000000000, 560000000000000, 630000000000000, 710000000000000, 800000000000000, 900000000000000, 1000000000000000, 1120000000000000, 1250000000000000, 1400000000000000, 1600000000000000, 1800000000000000, 2000000000000000, 2250000000000000, 2500000000000000, 2800000000000000, 3200000000000000, 3600000000000000, 4000000000000000, 4500000000000000, 5000000000000000, 5600000000000000, 6300000000000000, 7100000000000000, 8000000000000000, 9000000000000000, 10000000000000000, 11200000000000000, 12500000000000000, 14000000000000000, 16000000000000000, 18000000000000000, 20000000000000000, 22500000000000000, 25000000000000000, 28000000000000000, 32000000000000000, 36000000000000000, 40000000000000000, 45000000000000000, 50000000000000000, 56000000000000000, 63000000000000000, 71000000000000000, 80000000000000000, 90000000000000000, 100000000000000000, 112000000000000000, 125000000000000000, 140000000000000000, 160000000000000000, 180000000000000000, 200000000000000000, 225000000000000000, 250000000000000000, 280000000000000000, 320000000000000000, 360000000000000000, 400000000000000000,



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refuge for his children. Yes, fellow-citizens, this college is our own; the property of us all. It is intended to remedy misfortunes to which we are all equally liable. And it should be a source of great consolation to each of us, that if, in the ever-varying turns of human life, misfortune should overtake, and death surprise us, they who bear our names, and are destined to be the fathers of our descendants, will here find a home where they may be prepared for future usefulness, and become in turn the protectors and support of their more helpless relatives.

Hereafter, thanks to the bounty of Girard, every father among us may, on his death-bed, enjoy the reflection, that although unprovided with fortune, there is secured to his sons that which is at once the means of fortune, and far better than the amplest fortune without it—a good education. This consideration, if any such incentive were wanting, may serve to stimulate the sense of public duty in those who administer the institution, to render it worthy of their own children.

For this purpose, happily, it is only necessary to fulfil the design of the founder, which provides ample means, and expressly enjoins the employment of them, to give every kind of liberal and useful instruction.

They would much err, who, comparing this institution with any ordinary standard, regard it as an Alms House, or a Poor House, in which a certain number of pauper boys, housed together, to be kept from harm, are to receive some hasty rudiments of instruction, and then to be thrust out on the world to make way for a similar swarm of unfortunate children. By no means. The comprehensive benevolence of Girard looked to higher and better things. It is not a poor school, nor a charity school, nor a free school, in their ordinary acceptation. It is, as he denominates it, a "College." The peremptory prohibition that "no distinctive dress should ever be worn," reveals his purpose that these youths shall not be designated as objects of remark or contempt by their contemporaries—that they shall be distinguished only by their conduct, and shall not wear the livery even of charity. The instruction, too, required, is of the highest character, embracing almost every thing worthy of being studied in the circle of human knowledge. "They shall be instructed," says he, "in the various branches of a sound education, comprehending reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography, navigation, surveying, practical mathematics, astronomy, natural, chemical, and experimental philosophy, the French and Spanish languages—(I do not forbid, but I do not recommend the Greek and Latin languages)—and such other learning and science as the capacities of the several scholars may merit or warrant."

This excludes nothing—nay, it embraces every thing necessary to form a well-educated man. How far this instruction is to be carried—whether, when the degrees of talent and disposition come to be analyzed, some are to be instructed up to the point of their appropriate capacity, while the more intelligent and more diligent are to be carried into the higher regions of science, are questions of future administration, to be decided by experience. But it is manifest that all the means of education, thorough, perfect education, are to be provided; that every facility for the acquisition of knowledge should be at hand; nor is there any reason why the Girard College—liberally endowed beyond all example—should not be superior to any existing establishment, in the talents of its professors, or the abundance of its means of instruction; and with the blessing of God, so it shall be. There shall be collected within these walls all that the knowledge and research of men have accumulated to enlighten and improve the minds of youth. It will be the civil West Point of this country, where all the sciences which minister to men's happiness, and all the arts of peace, may be thoroughly and practically taught. Its success will naturally render it

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the model for other institutions—the centre of all improvement in things taught, no less than in the art of teaching them—the nursery of instructors as well as pupils—thus not merely accomplishing the direct benefit of those to whom its instruction extends, but irradiating by its example the whole circumference of human knowledge.

To this intellectual cultivation, will be added that, without which all instruction is valueless, and all learning the mere ability for evil—that moral discipline which makes men virtuous and happy at their own firesides. "My desire is," says he, "that all the instructors and teachers in the College shall take pains to instil into the minds of the scholars, the pure principles of morality, so that on their entrance into active life, they may, from inclination and habit, evince benevolence towards their fellow creatures, and a love of truth, sobriety, and industry." When this harmony between the heart and the understanding ceases, mere knowledge is a curse, and men become intellectual statues, with the perfect forms of manly exterior, but cold and selfish and worthless to the community which endures them. Our youth too will not fail to be deeply imbued with that enthusiastic devotion to republican government, and that knowledge of his public rights and duties, which should form the basis of the American character. It is thus that the founder strictly enjoins, "that by every proper means, a pure attachment to our republican institutions, and to the sacred rights of conscience as guaranteed by our happy constitution, shall be formed and fostered in the minds of the scholars."

Nor need there be any dread that such an education will disqualify them for their pursuits in after-life. In this country all pursuits are open to all men, nor should the humblest citizen despair of the highest honours of the republic. They err who suppose that because men are instructed they may desert the ordinary walks of employment. There never can be such an over-education of the mass of the people. Men labour not for want of knowledge, but for want of bread. The cultivation of the mind, like the cultivation of the soil, only renders it more productive, and knowledge becomes the best auxiliary to industry by rendering the labourer more intelligent and more ambitious to excel. The youths thus instructed will go forth into the various pursuits of life, many of which are in their nature mechanical; but they will begin with the disposition and the power not merely to excel in them, but to rise beyond them; and they will emerge from their workshops, as their countrymen, Franklin, and Rittenhouse, and Godfrey, and Fulton, did before them, reaching all the distinctions of the state which may be honourably won by talents and character.

That the scene of so many blessings may be appropriate to them, it is intended to make this structure worthy of its great object;—worthy of the name of its founder, and of the city which he was so anxious to embellish. Among the sciences most needed in this country, where individual wealth is hastening to indulge its taste, and where every state, and city, and county, requires extensive public buildings, is architecture. Indispensable in the rudest forms of life, it becomes the highest ornament of the most enlightened. In every stage of its progress, the style of its public works displays the character of the nation which rears them. Disproportioned and grotesque among a course of unlettered people—in nations more advanced, often over ornamented with the gaudy profusion and the caprices of tasteless wealth—it is only when sustained by the public spirit of a community at once enlightened and generous, that architecture attains its highest glory—a refined simplicity. Of that perfection it is proposed that this structure shall present a model, the equal at least of similar works in any other country, and not unworthy of the best days of antiquity—a structure which will at once gratify the honourable pride of every citizen of the United States,

and form the best study for all the branches of industry connected with architecture.

The enjoyment of so many advantages devolves on us, fellow-citizens the duty of great care and vigilance to preserve them.

After bestowing upon our city this rich inheritance, Girard adds this emphatic declaration. "In relation to the organization of the College and its appendages, I leave necessarily many details to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of Philadelphia; and I do so with the more confidence, as, from the nature of my bequests, and the benefit to result from them, I trust that my fellow-citizens of Philadelphia will observe and evince special care and anxiety in selecting members for their City Councils and other agents."

That the generous confidence with which he has thus committed to us the execution of his great designs, should never be betrayed, we owe equally to the name of the founder, and to the interests of our posterity; as the whole value of this institution will depend entirely on the administration of it. For myself and my colleagues, to whom the high honour has been assigned of sharing in that administration, I can only say, fellow-citizens, that we have assumed the trust with the deepest sense of its responsibility, and a determination to execute it in that spirit of enlightened benevolence which animated the founder; and we shall in our turn retire from it, with the hope that our fair city may always find successors, who, to equal zeal, add greater ability to serve it.

Under such auspices, we confidently trust that all the expectations of the founder will be realized. With this delightful anticipation, we now invoke the blessing of God on this great undertaking.

In the name of *Stephen Girard, of the City of Philadelphia, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Merchant and Mariner*, we lay the foundation of this *Girard College for Orphans*. We dedicate it to the cause of CHARITY, which not only feeds and clothes the destitute, but wisely confers the greatest blessings on the greatest sufferers;

To the cause of *Education*, which gives to human life its chief value;

To the cause of *Morals*, without which, knowledge were worse than unavailing; and finally,

To the cause of our *Country*, whose service is the noblest object to which knowledge and morals can be devoted.

Long may this structure stand, in its majestic simplicity, the pride and admiration of our latest posterity; long may it continue to yield its annual harvests of educated and moral citizens, to adorn and to defend our country. Long may each successive age enjoy its still increasing benefits, when time shall have filled its halls with the memory of the mighty dead who have been reared within them, and shed over its outward beauty the mellowing hues of a thousand years of renown!

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## No. II.

PROPOSED PLAN FOR EFFECTING A VOYAGE ROUND  
THE GLOBE.*(Referred to at page 159.)*

PROPOSED plan for effecting a voyage round the globe, by the route of India, China, Japan, and the Pacific Isles, for the purposes of Discovery,—Civilization,—and Commerce,—combined. To be performed under the direction of J. S. BUCKINGHAM, Esq. In the course of which it is intended to promote and accomplish the following interesting and important objects of private and public benefit:—1. The collection of general information regarding the East. 2. The diffusion of useful knowledge in every quarter. 3. The extension of the sale of British manufactures. 4. The discovery of new articles of commercial return.

The throne of England being now, for the first time in all its history, filled by a monarch whose earliest years were devoted to the service of his country at sea, and who has ever since cherished a fond regard for the welfare and glory of the national marine, the commencement of his auspicious reign cannot fail to give an additional interest to every enterprise, of which the ocean is to be the element, and British seamen the instruments of its accomplishment.

From the age of Alexander and Ptolemy, who each sent expeditions to explore the hidden sources of the Nile, down to the present day, when our enterprising countrymen, Franklin and Parry, have been employed, at great personal risk, and vast public expense, to find a Northern Passage into the Pacific Sea, the mere solution of some geographical problem only, without reference to higher views, has been sufficient to call forth the energies, and justify the fame, of those distinguished voyagers of all nations, from Nearchus to Columbus, by whom expeditions of mere discovery have been conducted: and at the same time to enlist the patronage and sympathies of kings, queens, nobles, and people in their success.

It is believed that much remains to be done, even in this department of knowledge only, and that the geographical and hydrographical features of our globe are yet very far from being perfectly delineated; so that a voyage of circumnavigation, if directed to this object alone, would be still worthy the patronage and support of the first maritime nation of the world, and of every class of its inhabitants.

But there is one important duty that has never yet been incorporated with any systematic and well-digested plan for a Voyage of Discovery; which is, to lay the foundations for a future commercial intercourse with the coasts and islands discovered, by leaving among their inhabitants the best memorials that men can ever bequeath to each other—namely, specimens of the useful manufactures, models of agricultural and domestic implements, and descriptions of the arts and conveniences which time and experience have enabled us to discover and apply to the improvements and comforts of life; with the seeds of elementary and useful knowledge, planted in such a manner as to

lead to a harvest of intellectual and moral improvement, and the consequent increase of happiness to those who are thus blessed.

The present period seems peculiarly favourable for such an undertaking ; inasmuch as the shores and islands of the Eastern hemisphere, in the space lying between China and South America, including the coasts of Corea, Formosa, Japan, Borneo, Celebes, the Moluccas, the Philippines, the Kurile Archipelago, and the countless islands in the Pacific Ocean, are the parts of the globe least accurately known in every sense ; and these are now likely soon to become as accessible to English ships, as they have for a long time been to foreign vessels only : it being already understood that the East India Company will be willing to admit of English ships being employed as American and other foreign vessels now are, in the conveyance of exports from this country to every part of the Eastern seas, reserving to themselves the import of particular articles only ; and it being matter of still greater certainty, that supposing no change whatever to take place in this respect they would readily grant their license or permission to any ship, proceeding on a publicly avowed voyage of discovery and improvement like this.

The want of an accurate knowledge of distant countries when they are first opened to new intercourse, has been productive of infinite loss and misery, by the evil of overtrading, arising from the natural anxiety of all adventurers to be first in the market, and to be provided with a full supply of every thing needed ; but not knowing what is actually required, either in quantity or description, every thing is taken,—a glut ensues,—and more than half the exports are lost or destroyed.

Such accurate knowledge cannot be speedily obtained, except by a voyage undertaken for that express object, and with adequate preparation for effecting it on a systematic and complete plan.

The first requisite for this purpose is, that a ship of sufficient size and competent equipments should be provided by the British public, fitted, manned, and ready for sea ; combining perhaps the use of steam for occasional application in currents and calms, with the safety tubes of Mr. Watson as a security from foundering ; and such other modern improvements as may tend to increase the speed, safety, and perfect accomplishment of the voyage.

The ship and her equipments being given as a donation to this great object, no further aid on the part of the public will be needed ; as the ordinary operations of trading, in the purchase and sale of commodities, and in the conveyance of goods and passengers from place to place, on the route, will defray all the subsequent charges of the voyage ; and to prevent all misconception on this subject, it is particularly requested to be observed that this is not intended as a joint-stock or trading company, but a public subscription for a great public undertaking, without further risk or concern on the part of the subscribers.

The objects that I pledge myself to keep constantly in view, during the whole of this expedition, and the benefits I may hope to effect by it, of a public and general nature, will be the following :—

I. To add to the existing stock of knowledge every new fact that can be collected respecting the geography and hydrography of the coasts and islands visited ; and to make the most ample researches that can be effected respecting the statistics, productions, manners, and wants, of every particular place ; as well as to collect specimens of whatever may be found to deserve preservation, in natural history, botany, and mineralogy, as well as of the artificial products and native wares, where any such exist.

II. To introduce into all the ports visited, specimens in small quantities, but in infinite variety, of all the various descriptions of goods, manufactured



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in England; whether in woollens, silks, or cottons; in metals, glass, or earthenware; so as to ascertain, by actual experiment, what particular description of goods are suited to particular markets, and what are the quantities, patterns, textures, prices, and other peculiarities best adapted to each; for the want of which knowledge, all the evils of overtrading have happened.

III. To add to this distribution of the specimens of English manufactures, the introduction of the useful arts of civilized life, in the shape of models, drawings, and descriptions of all the various implements, utensils, and conveniences, of agriculture, husbandry, and domestic comfort, in use among ourselves: as well as seeds, plants, and materials of improvement of every kind; and to lay the foundation for the establishment of schools of instruction, for increasing, perpetuating, and diffusing useful knowledge in every branch.

These are the mere outlines of the plan,—but the statement of these will be sufficient to enable every reader to fill up much of the details.

The classes of the community from whom the most cordial aid may be expected towards this undertaking, and the reasons for their ready co-operation, are the following:—

1. From the members of both houses of parliament:—Because the information collected in such a voyage would be more copious and more accurate than the desultory evidence of accidental and often unobtrusive and indifferent witnesses, on whose imperfect testimony the legislature is now too often obliged to rely for the facts and opinions which form the basis of their commercial measures.

2. From the clergy and gentry of England, from the learned and liberal professions, and from persons not engaged in any mercantile business:—Because the abolition of ignorance, idolatry, and slavery, and the advancement of the great interests of humanity, morality, and knowledge, will be promoted thereby.

3. From the bankers, capitalists, and monied interests of the country:—Because every extension of the channels and marts of commerce, and every improvement in the condition of distant nations and people, creates additional employment for capital, and increases the value of their wealth.

4. From the general merchants:—Because every addition to the number of places to which they may trade, lessens the chance of evil from the shutting up or suspension of their operations in any single quarter, and consequently multiplies their chances of gain: and because every improvement in the charts of unknown coasts and seas, increases the safety of navigation and trade.

5. From the manufacturers:—Because the stagnation under which all classes now labour from the increased power of production by means of machinery, can only be relieved by the opening new sources of consumption—and discovering new articles of commercial return.

6. From the shipowners:—Because the extreme depression of the Shipping Interest arises from the competition of foreign vessels sailing cheaper than English ones, and occupying the carrying trade of Europe: which can only be relieved by extending our Maritime Trade to distant parts of the world, where, from the imperfect knowledge of navigation and seamanship, no such competition will be met, but the superiority of British skill and experience will secure to British ships by far the largest portion of the maritime conveyance.

7. From the ladies of England generally:—Because one of the most distinguishing as well as the most revolting features of Eastern manners, and of semi-barbarous life everywhere—is the enslaved and degraded condition



of women : and because it has been universally found, that wherever nations or people become improved in their knowledge, or advanced in the scale of civilization by intercourse with a superior race, there the condition of women is ameliorated : and this effect becoming again a cause, creates a further improvement in the condition of men : thus augmenting and reproducing good, until at length wives become the intellectual and honoured companions, instead of being the degraded slaves of their husbands—and mothers become the cultivated instructors, instead of being the mere nurses of their children.

8. And lastly : from public literary institutions, and from the conductors of the public press : because every acquisition made to the stores of knowledge increases their power and importance, as the great directing engine, by which public opinion is regulated and swayed : and because all the preceding classes already enumerated, are under the influence of their dominion and control.

It may be added, that since this plan of the voyage was first sent to the press, an association for effecting a portion at least of the same objects, has been established in Paris, under the title of "the society of civilization," at the head of which is the Count de Laborde, supported by most of the nobility and learned men in France ; and we have long had in England an association for discovering the interior of Africa—as well as another for improving the condition of its unhappy people,—both of which are honoured with the names and support of some of the noblest families in England.

The difficulty of effecting such objects by a single association, is, however, exceedingly great : first, from the impossibility of obtaining sufficient funds from the small annual subscriptions of four or five hundred members only, and from the cost of all the operations being wholly an outlay of expense, without any sources of profit from which to defray them ;—and secondly, from the diversity of opinion and distraction of councils, inseparable from an association, being most prejudicial to the rapid and decisive execution of indispensably prompt and energetic measures.

The present expedition will be free from all these difficulties : as, if the ship be once floated from the shores of England at the public expense,—the expedition will then maintain itself, without further aid, by the ordinary sources of trade and profit in the route : while a single directing mind, assisted only by the scientific companions and fellow-officers of the voyage, who will be selected with reference to their skill in each department of knowledge, will unite energy and prudence, with promptitude, decision, and dispatch.

Of my own qualifications for this undertaking I will say only this : that from my cradle, the love of enterprize and the ambition of discovery and improvement have been my leading passions. I went to sea at nine years of age—obtained a maritime command before I was twenty-one—have visited in that capacity almost all parts of the world—the West Indies, North and South America, the Mediterranean, Turkey, Egypt, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulph, the East Indies, including Bombay, Ceylon, Madras, and Bengal ; and have travelled by land far into the interior of Egypt, Nubia, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Media, and Persia. I have adopted the costume, learnt the tongue, and accustomed myself to the manners of almost all the several countries named, and passed with safety and respect through each. I am in my forty-fourth year, sufficiently strong, healthy, vigorous, and energetic for any enterprize of difficulty and danger, and with enough of experience to assist my judgment, without extinguishing my zeal ; while the books I have written, and the discourses or lectures I have delivered, of which not less than 100,000 different individuals in various parts of England have been the witnesses, will confirm my capacity to collect information, to record it in writing, and to impart it verbally to others.

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The only means I ask for conducting and commanding this enterprise is this: that the ship and her equipments—such as the means thus raised may furnish—be in the first instance provided by the British public, leaving every subsequent expense of the voyage to be paid out of her trading freights or gains: and that all the materials thus supplied to me as instruments with which to effect the undertaking, be placed entirely at my disposal: on the pledge that after this voyage round the globe has been performed, and the objects accomplished, as far as may be found practicable according to the plan detailed above, a faithful narrative of the proceedings of the expedition, from its departure till its return, shall be published, for the honour of those who may contribute to its formation, and it is hoped for the benefit of the world at large.

London, June 1, 1830.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

#### ROYAL INSTITUTION.

At a numerous public meeting, held at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, on Thursday, June 22d, 1830, his royal highness the Duke of Sussex president of the Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, in the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

Moved by His Grace THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, President of the Royal Institution: and Seconded by LORD JOHN RUSSELL, M. P., Vice President of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

1. That the plan on which Mr. Buckingham proposes to conduct a voyage round the globe, for promoting the great objects of hydrographical discovery—practical civilization—and commercial inquiry, appears to this meeting to be eminently well calculated to produce great national advantages, and much general good; and to be therefore entitled to the cordial support of all ranks and classes of his majesty's subjects.

Moved by LORD DURHAM: and Seconded by THE REVEREND ARTHUR S. WADE, D. D. F.S.A.

2. That the maritime experience, active habits, and diversified knowledge evinced by Mr. Buckingham in his writings and lectures on the countries of the Eastern world, added to the unwearied zeal manifested by him in his endeavours to excite the sympathy of the people of Europe in behalf of their Asiatic fellow-beings,—are, in the opinion of this meeting, qualifications which peculiarly fit him for commanding this expedition, and conducting it to a happy termination.

Moved by ADMIRAL SIR SYDNEY SMITH, K. C. B.: and Seconded by SIR ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, late Chief Justice of His Majesty's Supreme Court in Ceylon, and Vice President of the Royal Asiatic Society.

3. That the members of this assembly, having themselves cheerfully contributed their assistance towards the commencement of this new and interesting undertaking, do feel themselves justified in earnestly inviting all the encouragers of useful knowledge—the friends of moral improvement—and the promoters of commercial intercourse—to co-operate with them in advancing, by their contributions—the completion of this great design.

Moved by GENERAL SIR SAMUEL BENTHAM, K. S. G.: and Seconded by COLONEL THE HONOURABLE LEICESTER STANHOPE.

4. That the following noblemen and gentlemen, taken from among the earliest of the London subscribers, obtained before any public announcement of the plan had been made, and including members of all the several professions, be solicited to select out of their own numbers, a central or metropolitan committee, (five of whom may at any time form a quorum,) for the purpose of suggesting such measures as they may conceive best calculated to promote the end in view:—

The Duke of Somerset, P.R.I.	Henry Brougham Esq. M.P.	Capt. J. Horsburgh, India H.
The Duke of Bedford	William Cavendish, Esq. M.P.	Sir Alex. Johnston, V.P.R.A.S.
The Duke of Devonshire, K.G.	The Hon. G. Agar Ellis, M.P.	The Rev. Dr. Lardner, LL.D.
The Duke of Portland	Chr. Baring Wall, Esq. M.P.	The R. A.S. Wade, D.D.F.S.A.
The Duke of Leinster	E. W. Pendarves, Esq. M.P.	The Rev. John Young, LL.D.
The Marquis of Lansdowne	Thomas Wm. Coke, Esq. M.P.	William Wilberforce, Esq.
The Marquis of Hastings	Hon. G. Ponsonby, M.P.	Thomas Clarkson, Esq.
The Marquis of Sligo	Robert Otway, Esq. M.P.	Henry Drummond, Esq.
The Earl Spencer, K.G.	W. W. Whitmore, Esq. M.P.	W. Babington, M.D.F.R.S.
The Lord Viscount Torrington	J. Cam Hobhouse, Esq. M.P.	B.G. Babington, M.B.F.R.S.
The Lord Bishop of Norwich	Daniel Sykes, Esq. M.P.	George Birkbeck, Esq. M.D.
The Lord Sondes	John Maxwell, Esq. M.P.	Southwood Smith, Esq. M.D.
The Lord Holland	Ed. D. Davenport, Esq. M.P.	Edward Harrison, Esq. M.D.
The Lord Grenville	John Marshall, Esq. M.P.	John Wilks, Esq.
The Ld. Ellenborough, P.B.C.	Rt. Hon. Sir J. Sinclair, Bart.	Matthew Davenport Hill, Esq.
The Lord Durham	Gen. Sir J. Doyle, Bt. K.C.B.	Rowland Hill, Esq.
The Marq. of Tavistock, M.P.	Gen. Sir S. Benthams, K.S.G.	John Towill Rutt, Esq.
Lord Viscount Milton, M.P.	Col. Fitzclarence, V.P.R.A.S.	William Miller Christy, Esq.
Lord John Russell, M.P.	Col. Hon. Leicester Stanhope	Thomas Roscoe, Esq.
Lord F. Leveson Gower, M.P.	Colonel T. Perronet Thompson	Robert Lucas Chance, Esq.
Sir Francis Burdett, Bt. M.P.	Capt. A. W. Robe, Royal Eng.	Sir Peter Laurie
The Rt. H. Lord Nugent, M.P.	Admiral Sir S. Smith, K.C.B.	William Vizard, Esq.
R. Cutlar Ferguson, Esq. M.P.	Capt. Alex. McConochie, R.N.	R. Watson, Esq. F.R.S.A.
James Alexander, Esq. M.P.	Captain Glasscock, R.N.	A.V. Kirwan, Esq.
Sir James Scarlett, M.P.	Captain F. Marryat, R.N.	Henry Porcher, Esq.
Rt. Hon. W. Huskisson, M.P.	Captain Philip Heywood, R.N.	Henry Lytton Bulwer, Esq.

A committee having been formed, and measures taken for obtaining the requisite degree of support, every thing appeared to warrant the hopes of ultimate success; when the sudden occurrence of the French Revolution, at the close of the very month succeeding that in which this meeting was held (July, 1830;) the subsequent political changes which took place in England, the agitation of the public mind with the Reform Bill, and the entire absorption of the public thought and interest in political affairs, made it impossible to proceed beyond a given point. The general feeling seemed to be, that the undertaking should be deferred till some future period, when the public mind would be less occupied with the topics that now exclusively engaged its attention; and, under this impression, the sums subscribed, (which did not in the aggregate exceed £2000, though £20,000 would have been required for the equipment of the expedition,) were returned, in full, to such of the parties advancing it, as desired its re-imbursement; while the greater portion of the rest was appropriated to the payment of the expenses incurred: but no favourable combination of circumstances again occurred, to warrant a renewal of the undertaking.

As far, however, as the unaided efforts of a single individual could be likely to accomplish the objects proposed by the Expedition, I had hoped to do something towards it in the personal voyage, of which my tour through the United States was the commencement, and my subsequent visits to Mexico, the Pacific Ocean, the Sandwich Islands, China, and the Indian Archipelago, were intended to be the close. Circumstances, however, as unexpected, as they were unforeseen, prevented the accomplishment of this design, to the extent, at least, to which it was originally intended to be carried out; and, therefore, like many of my predecessors, I was obliged to yield, with patience and resignation, to influences which I could neither resist nor control.—Still my conviction of the utility of such a voyage is so unchanged, that I should be perfectly willing, though now eleven years older, to take the command of such an expedition, if it could be prepared and equipped for sea.

## No. III.

A CONTRIBUTION FOR THE COMMEMORATION OF THE  
FOURTH OF JULY, 1838.*(Referred to at page 344.)*

Hail ! Day of Joy ! whose glad return  
Hears a united Nation's voice—  
“ In thoughts that breathe and words that burn ”—  
Bid millions of free hearts rejoice.

Thy dawning sun look'd forth upon  
A nation struggling to be free;  
But, ere the setting orb went down,  
They had achieved their liberty.

And now, where'er old Ocean laves  
Earth's coasts—or bathes her capes and isles,  
The star-bespangled banner waves  
O'er a bright day of joy and smiles.

Immortal honour to the brave,  
Whose hands first signed the bold decree;  
Who rushed their sinking land to save,  
And vowed to perish or be free.

But O ! while boisterous revelry  
Shall swell the loud triumphant song,  
And mirth, and 'witching minstrelsy,  
Bear the unconscious mind along ;

Let those who love their Country most,  
Lift up their warning voices high,  
And ask—of Freedom ere they boast—  
Is there no other Slavery ?

No other Tyrant, whose dark rod  
Rules o'er the land with fearful sway,  
Debasing Man—defying God—  
E'en on this—sacred Freedom's Day ?

Then, Patriots ! wheresoe'er ye be,  
With one accord join heart and hand,  
To bid the Enslaved, from hence be free,  
And chase the Tyrant from the Land.

“ Who is the Tyrant ?—who the Slave ? ”—  
A thousand anxious voices cry—  
Alas ! the tenants of the grave,  
Could they but rise—might best reply.

The Tyrant is—DESTROYING DRINK—  
Who chains his Slaves in links of fire ;  
The Slave is he whose manhood sinks  
Beneath his withering sceptre dire.

This Tyrant carries in his train  
 Each baleful Passion's poisonous breath,  
 Crime, Misery, Want, Despair, and Pain,  
 Disease, Insanity, and Death.

His victims perish first on earth,  
 In loathsomeness and foul decay:  
 And oh!—dread thought for hours of mirth—  
 They perish in Eternity!

Will they who love their Native Land,  
 See such a Tyrant's rule upborne,  
 Nor stretch at once their patriot hand,  
 To hurl him from his despot throne?

It cannot be!—Man's nobler part  
 Yearns for his fellow-suffering Man—  
 Haste, then, each Patriot—Christian heart,  
 The Revolution has begun!

O! for a Washington's pure name,  
 A Franklin's mind—a Hancock's zeal,  
 A Henry's eloquence—whose flame  
 Should kindle, in their Country's weal.

Ten thousand thousand glowing tongues,  
 To form, to-day, a sacred band,  
 In every Hall to bid their songs  
 Swell high for Temperance through the Land.

For though to Washington was given  
 The glorious task, this Land to free  
 When, arm'd by Justice—blessed by Heaven,  
 He won a Nation's Liberty;

To him whose tongue or pen shall raise  
 The second purifying fire,  
 To purge it of its worst Disease,  
 Till fell Intemperance shall expire;

To him shall millions yet unborn  
 Lift up the Hymn of grateful praise,  
 And, on this dawn of Freedom's morn  
 Honour him with approving lays.

And if, from Heaven's high azure zone,  
 Where Washington's pure spirit rests,  
 His view on earth should e'er look down,  
 To see his Country free and blest;

How would his now still purer soul  
 Turn with intensest grief and pain,  
 From where Intemperance' torrents roll  
 O'er this fair land her foulest stain.

Yes! and should now a Patriot rise  
 To save his Country from this flood  
 Washington's spirit, from the skies,  
 Would hail him—as the Great—the Good.

*Albany, July 4, 1838.*

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

## No. IV.

*(From the New York American, July 20, 1898.)*

See page 422.

**LOBBYING.**—We copy from the Journal of Commerce the report of a trial, wherein the plaintiff was one of those shameless persons known at Albany, and, as it would seem, at Trenton, as members of the Lobby, or of the third House, and who sues for his compensation for "operating" upon members of the legislature.

It is the first time, so far as we remember, that an attempt was ever made to enforce, through a court of justice, contracts of such a nature; and we are glad to believe, from the failure of this, that there will be no future attempts—and we say this without meaning to applaud or approve the morality of the defence, which, after accepting services, equivocal in their kind, pleads public morality in bar of stipulated payment.

Court of Common Pleas, July 18—Judge Ulshoeffer presiding.

Abraham S. Hillyer v. John Travers.

**Lobbying.**—This was an action for work and labour, or in other words, for acting as agent in procuring the passage of a bill through the Trenton Legislature, by means of what is called lobbying.

Counsel for the plaintiff stated that the defendant employed him in the winter of 1897, as agent to obtain the passage of an act to incorporate the Bergen Port Company, and that for this service the plaintiff claimed 2,000 dollars, being less than what he was fairly entitled to. The bill in question was passed, and the defendant was made president of the Company.

The following are the items of the plaintiff's demand:

1897. John Travers,

Dr. to A. T. Hillyer.

	Dollars.
To work and labour from Jan. 1st to March 15, 1897, in procuring charter of Bergen Port Company . . . . .	1,500 00
To board at Trenton from Jan. 1st to March 15, at 2 dollars per day . . . . .	150 00
To money paid, laid out and expended by defendant for plaintiff . . . . .	250 00
To travelling expenses to and from New York and Trenton . . . . .	100 00
To expenses of family in New York agreed to be paid by defendant	
—11 weeks, at 20 dollars per week, . . . . .	220 00
	<hr/>
	2,220 00

In proof of the plaintiff's services, and employment by the defendant, the deposition of a witness was read, which stated that the plaintiff had attended at Trenton during the whole time that the act was being passed; that he had been desired to do so by the defendant; and that he advocated the passing of the act, and obtained two or three votes for it in the Lower House; that while thus engaged, the plaintiff had treated the members of the Legislature to several bottles of champagne; that the witness in question was himself similarly employed, and had received 100 shares of the stock for his services.

From the evidence of Benjamin Van Cleef, it appeared that the defendant had employed the plaintiff to facilitate the passage of the bill, and also that

Good.  
J. S. BUCKINGHAM.



John Swartwout had offered the plaintiff 2,500 dollars, to procure the passage of a bill of incorporation for him; or, instead of the 2,500 dollars, to give him 25 shares of stock. That the plaintiff was employed lobbying while the bill was going forward, and endeavoured to impress upon the members of the legislature the great value such an incorporation would be to the State. The different members of the legislature were also visited in order to ascertain how many of them were favourable to the bill, and those who were not were divided amongst the lobbyists, in order to be influenced to vote for it. The bill was lost the first time it was brought up from the Lower House, but the plaintiff procured a sufficient number of members to vote for a reconsideration. At the period in question, the legislature entertained great distrust of such bills.

Mr. Van Cleef himself was also employed to facilitate the passage of the bill, and was to be compensated for his services by being appointed secretary at a salary of 500 dollars for the first year. He was likewise to be paid 300 dollars per annum for editing a democratic journal, which the parties who were getting the bill, pledged themselves to establish, and he was also to have the liberty of exercising his profession, which, in addition to the other items, would bring him 1,500 dollars per annum. The witness estimated the plaintiff's personal expenses at 2 dollars per day, and 2 dollars for board.

On the witness' cross-examination, he said that one of the means which the plaintiff used to facilitate the passage of the bill, was by treating the members to champagne and suppers, and that he gave a supper on the 22d February, while the bill was pending. The defendant had promised to pay a tavern-keeper a bill which the plaintiff had incurred for 114 dollars.

The land in question, in relation to which the act of incorporation was passed, was purchased by the company for 160,000 dollars, and divided into 5,000 shares of stock at 100 dollars per share, making 500,000 dollars. The shares were now 40 per cent. below par. Col. Travers, the defendant, is said to be worth 150,000 dollars.

The next evidence for the plaintiff was the deposition of

James C. Zabriskie, of New Brunswick, N. J., who deposed that he was asked by Travers to engage in getting the bill passed, but he refused. Travers said the witness might dictate his own terms, and if he wanted means to operate at Trenton, any reasonable amount would be furnished him.

Q. What would be a reasonable amount to operate with at Trenton, in such a case?

A. I should have required 500 dollars to operate with.

Cross-examined.—Q. When you say you would require 500 dollars to operate with, in such a case, what do you mean by that?

A. I mean I should have applied it in paying for wine and terrapin suppers, as that is about as efficient a mode of operating as I know of.

Q. Do you mean by that answer, wine and terrapin suppers for the members of the legislature?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the general character of Mr. Hillyer's services?

A. He operated amongst the members generally and particularly; Mr. Hillyer was esteemed one of the best lobby agents that ever appeared at Trenton for the last eight years. I do not know what Mr. Hillyer's particular mode of operation was in this case. I know the efficient mode of operation was the same in every case, by calling on the members, and impressing on them favourably in regard to the measure before them. Some



times making the worse appear the better reason, and giving the members explanatory suppers. Such was Mr. Hillyer's general mode of operation.

On behalf of the defendant, counsel moved for a nonsuit, on the ground that the entire contract was grounded on corruption, and was therefore void.

The Court decided that the case should go to the Jury.

The defendant then produced in evidence a receipt from the plaintiff to the defendant, dated the 13th of March, for 100 dollars on account of the Bergen Port Company, which receipt counsel contended was in full for all compensation which he was entitled to. The defendant offered no other evidence.

The Court charged the Jury This was an action to recover compensation for the plaintiff's agency in getting a bill passed by the legislature at Trenton.

It appears that the plaintiff has been paid 100 dollars by the defendant on the 13th of March, and that the defendant likewise agreed to pay 114 dollars more for the plaintiff's board. It may be, and is probable, that the defendant is not bound by that agreement, as it was entered into after the debt was contracted, and that the landlord cannot make the defendant pay it. But it is evidence going to show that the defendant employed the plaintiff.

The first question is, Is there sufficient evidence to prove that the defendant employed the plaintiff? The latter is bound to prove that the defendant employed him to go to Trenton. If you are satisfied that the defendant did not employ the plaintiff, he cannot recover on that ground.

The next question is, was the employment of the plaintiff, by the defendant, for an honest purpose, or for procuring dishonest legislation? If the defendant employed the plaintiff for an honest purpose, than there can be no difficulty in the way of his recovering. But if he was employed for a dishonest purpose, then he cannot recover.

The evidence as to the dishonesty of purpose of the two parties in the present transaction, stands about equal. And the rule of law on this part of the question is, that the law does not extend protection to either party. If they have both made an agreement for a dishonest purpose, they must stand as they are. The law will not allow either of them to coerce the other. If Travers had paid the plaintiff, he could not recover it back; and if the plaintiff contracted with Travers, and has not been paid, he cannot make him pay it.

It would be going too far to say that every agreement for compensation in cases like the present one is void. An agreement to compensate an attorney, who goes before the legislature, or a committee of it, to advocate the passage of a bill, would entitle him to recover compensation.—So also an agreement with an agent, who makes necessary explanations before the legislature, has nothing in it adverse to public policy; and there is no reason why any honest man should not employ a person to do so.

But there is a wide difference between that, and an agency for using public or private influence personally on the members of a legislature, in order to induce them to act from motives of private interest instead of public good. Any agreement for such an agency is void. Any agreement to use the influence of relations or others, or to use private influence of any sort, would be corrupt, and all agreements of such a kind are consequently void.

The reason for this distinction is manifest. If it was not so, the legislature would be surrounded by men seeking for private objects, which concerned not the public good, but their own private interests only. And members of the legislature would be harassed into giving their votes, on the grounds of personal obligations or private friendship.

A legislator selected by the people to discharge a public trust, ought to discharge it independently and honestly: but the legislator who votes from private influence, acts dishonestly and corruptly. And every effort to obtain votes through private influence, is adverse to public policy and legislative purity, and at variance with every sense of propriety.

It is therefore scarcely necessary to observe, that to procure votes by means of suppers, or harassing legislators by making applications to them, is dishonest in the extreme, and that no person can recover compensation for it.

This is perhaps the first case in which a party has disclosed all the secrets of lobbying, when bringing an action against the person who has employed him. I have given you my views as to the law of the case, but am not disposed to take it for granted as to what your feelings are in regard to the facts. With these remarks, I hope you will give a fair consideration to the evidence, and while on the one hand, if you think that the plaintiff was employed for an honest purpose, you will not refuse him compensation; yet if, on the other hand, he was employed to bring private influence to bear on the members of the legislature, then you will not give him any compensation whatever.

The jury retired for nearly four hours, and brought in a verdict for the defendant.

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#### TO NIAGARA.

*Written at the first sight of its Falls—August 12th, 1838.*

[See page 500.]

Hail! Sovereign of the World of Floods!—whose majesty and might  
First dazzles—then enraptures—then o'erawes the aching sight:  
The pomp of Kings and Emperors, in every clime and zone,  
Grows dim beneath the splendours of thy glorious watery throne.

No Fleets can stop thy progress—no armies bid thee stay—  
But onward—onward—onward—thy march still holds its way:  
The rising mist that veils thee, as thine herald, goes before,  
And the music that proclaims thee, is the thundering Cataract's roar.

Thy Diadem is an emerald green, of the clearest, purest hue,  
Set round with waves of snow-white foam, and spray of feathery dew:  
While tresses of the brightest pearls float o'er thine ample sheet,  
And the Rainbow lays its gorgeous gems, in tribute, at thy feet.

Thy reign is of the ancient days—thy sceptre from on high—  
Thy birth was when the morning stars together sang with joy;  
The Sun, the Moon, and all the orbs that shine upon thee now,  
Saw the first wreath of glory which entwined thine infant brow.

And from that hour to this—in which I gaze upon thy stream,  
From age to age—in winter's frost, or summer's sultry beam—  
By day, by night—without a pause—thy waves, with loud acclaim,  
In ceaseless sounds have still proclaimed, the Great Eternal's Name!

For whether, on thy forest banks, the Indian of the wood,  
Or since his days, the Red Man's foe, on his father-land have stood—  
Whoe'er has seen thine incense rise, or heard thy torrent's roar,  
Must have bent before the God of All! to worship and adore.

Accept, then, O! Supremely Great! O! Infinite! O! God!  
From this primeval Altar—the green and virgin sod—  
The humble homage that my soul in gratitude would pay  
To Thee! whose shield has guarded me through all my wandering way.

For, if the Ocean be as nought in the hollow of thine hand,  
And the Stars of the bright firmament, in thy balance, grains of sand,—  
If Niagara's rolling flood seem great—to us who lowly bow—  
O! Great Creator of the Whole! how passing great art Thou!

Yet, tho' thy Power is greater than the finite mind may scan,  
Still greater is thy Mercy, shown to weak dependent Man:  
For him thou cloth'st the fertile fields with herb, and fruit, and seed—  
For him, the woods, the lakes, the seas, supply his hourly need.

Around—on high—or far, or near—the Universal Whole  
Proclaims thy glory, as the orbs in their fixed courses roll—  
And from Creation's grateful voice—the hymn ascends above,  
While Heaven re-echoes back to Earth, the chorus, "God is Love."

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

END OF VOL. II.

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